

not have the princeſs. All the nobility and gentry that attended him were baptiz-
ed at the ſame time: and returning home with ſome clergymen to preach the
gospel, abundance of the *Middle-Angles* were converted. Nor did *Penda* hinder
any among the *Mercians* from embracing the *Chriſtian* religion, provided they lived
anſwerable to their profeſſion; ſo that in the two laſt years of his life, a con-
ſiderable progreſs was made in their converſion: and ſoon after his death, *Oſwi*
having taken poſſeſſion of his kingdom, *Diuna*, a *Scot*, was ordained biſhop of
both thoſe people, by *Finan*, who had ſucceeded *Aidan* in the ſee of *Lindif-*
farn.

AGE had not impaired *Penda's* inclination, or rather fury, for war and conqueſts:
he was not leſs than fifty, when in *A. D.* 626, he became maſter of all *Mercia*; *A. D.* 645.
and he had poſſeſſed it twenty eight years, when he invaded the territories of
Anna ſon of *Enni*¹; who had ſucceeded to the crown of the *East-Angles*, in
A. D. 635, upon the death of *Sigebert* and *Ecgrice*, both ſlain by *Penda*.
Anna underwent the ſame fate, being ſlain in battle; and his brother *Ethelbere*
ſeems to have made his peace with *Penda*, by putting him upon a war with
Oſwi, and aſſiſting him with his forces in that enterprize. Whatever was the
occaſion of the *Mercian* prince's enmity to the *Northumbrians*, it ſeems to have
animated him conſtantly: and from the time of *Oſwald's* death² he was con-
tinually making ravages in the others dominions, without any regard to treaties
ſubſiſting between them; for there was actually one at this time; *Egfrid*, the ſe-
cond ſon of *Oſwi*, being an hoſtage given for the performance of it, and now kept
in the cuſtody of *Cynwiſe* queen of *Mercia*. *Oſwi* had done all he could to put
a ſtop to thoſe ravages; and to ward off the blow, with which he was menaced,
he had offered all the royal ornaments, and incredible ſums of money: but *Penda*
would hearken to no offers; being obſtinately reſolved to ruine all his terri-
tories, and extirpate the whole nation. His army appeared more than ſufficient to
execute his cruel reſolution; having with him thirty noble chieftains or princes,
with as many brigades: whereas *Oſwi* had only one to oppoſe them, not more than
the thirtieth part of the number of the enemy. *Edikwald* had given *Penda* paſ-
ſage through *Deira*, and joined him with his forces; though whether out of fear,
or any other motive, is uncertain: but being aſhamed of fighting againſt his country
and his uncle, he retired in the miſt of the action with his troops to a place of
ſafety, where he might at a diſtance wait the event. It proved truly glorious to
Oſwi and his ſon *Alchfrid*, who charged like men in deſpair: the *Mercian* army
was cut in pieces; *Penda* himſelf, *Ethelbere*, and almoſt every one of the thirty
chieftains were ſlain in the battle, which was fought on *November* 15, *A. D.* 655,
near the river *Winuaed*, now *Broad-are*, running by *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*. This great
victory was immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion of all *Mercia*; where *Oſwi*
ſettled religion to his mind, and gave *Peada* that part of it which lay ſouth of
Trent: but this prince being killed, by treachery, the year following, *Oſwi* kept
his ſovereignty but two years longer; when three of the principal noblemen of the
country ſet up young *Wulfere*, the ſecond ſon of *Penda*, for their king, and drove
out the *Northumbrian* governors.

XIV. THE *Chriſtian* religion was now eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of the
heptarchy, except that of the *South-Saxons*: but there was ſome diverſity in their
practiſe, not with regard to any duty thereof, or any ſubſtantial part of divine
ſervice, but in reſpect of certain modes of dreſs, rites, and circumſtances of
worſhip. The moſt conſiderable of theſe related to the time of keeping *Eaſter*,

Diſputes a-
bout *Eaſter*
and the ton-
ſure.

¹ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 18.

² *Ib.* c. 24.

A.D. 654. and the fashion of the ecclesiastical tonsure : and the diversity arose from their being converted by different persons, who introduced the customs, observed in the different countries from whence they came, into the practice of the several nations which they respectively converted. Hence the *Kentish*, *West*, and *East-Saxons* and *Angles* followed the *Roman* or *Gallican* usages in those respects ; whilst the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians* adhered to the *British* and *Scottish*, as they were then distinguished ; though derived from the same original, and only more ancient than the other. It is very plain from the writings of the fathers of the ¹ four first centuries, that the clergy at that time wore their hair, though in a modest manner ; not being nice in ordering it, nor suffering it to grow too long : but this was common to them with the laity. In the fifth age they began, for distinction, to clip or shave their heads all over, when admitted either to the ecclesiastical or monachal profession. Thus, *Constantius* says, *St. Germain* of *Auxerre* was served, when forced into holy orders ; and thus were the monks, in the convents of the *East*, distinguished, till after this time, as appears by what *Bede* ² observes about *Theodore* of *Tarsus*, appointed in *A.D.* 668, to the see of *Canterbury*. It was at the latter end of the fifth, or in the beginning of the sixth century, that the monks thought fit, in the fashion of their tonsure, to imitate the crown of thorns, of which they would have it thought to be an emblem ; and were followed therein by the secular clergy. But this was long after *St. Germain* had come to *Britain*, and *St. Patrick* to *Ireland* ; who yet brought with them the customs of the *Gallican* and *Roman* churches in their days ; customs which the *British* and *Scottish* churches having received with reverence, and communicated to the northern *English*, who had been converted by their endeavours, they still adhered to with more firmness than the subject deserved ; notwithstanding all the *Christian* world besides had left them off, and adopted others in their practice. This was the case of the ecclesiastical tonsure ; a thing perfectly indifferent in its nature : and, were it not for the daily experience we have of the force of custom in common life, it would not be easy to conceive, how well-meaning and pious men should fall into heats, scarce compatible with *Christian* charity, in disputing whether the hair of ecclesiastics should be clipped on the top of the crown in the form of a circle, or only in the forepart of the head from ear to ear, something like a semicircle ; which last is thought to be the *British* fashion.

THE time of keeping *Easter* may possibly be thought more material ; yet time is but a mere circumstance of worship ; and all *Christian* churches had in that point frequently and innocently varied in all former ages. *Easter-day* was kept on the fourteenth of the moon, on whatever day of the week it fell, by the *Asiatic* churches ; but at *Rome* it was kept on the *Sunday* following. This variation occasioned, in the second century, a dispute between *St. Polycarp* and *Anicetus*, and in the third, another between Pope *Victor* and *Polycrates* of *Ephesus* ; both sides pleading apostolical tradition for their warrant. In the former case, neither of the parties could persuade the other, yet both communicated together : in the latter, *Victor* indeed did not proceed with the same temper as his predecessor ; but hearkening at last to the remonstrances of *St. Irenæus* and others, was restrained from falling into a breach of communion. This diversity, though with some alteration in various churches, continued till the General council of *Nice* ; which, without condemning either custom, considered only what was most convenient and agreed least with the *Jews* ; in order to make the observance of that great festival more uniform. It was there decreed, that *Easter-day* should be kept on the *Sunday* after the fourteenth moon of the first paschal month ; and all that did not comply with

¹ *Laëtant. de opific. Dei.* c. 7. *Ambrose de Noë & arca*, c. 7. & *Hexaem.* l. vi. c. 9. *S. Hieron.* tom. iii. p. 1029. *ed. Bened.* ² *H. E.* l. iv. c. 1.

this rule, were termed *quarto-decimani*. By another regulation then made, the primate of *Alexandria* (in which place astronomy was best understood) was annually to notify the day to the bishop of *Rome*; who was to communicate that notice to other churches: and the equinox being fixed to the twenty-first of *March*, it was likewise provided, that *Easter* should not be kept before; yet this did not hinder some from observing it after, and others on the very day of the equinox. The *Latins* observed these rules in some things,¹ but did not stick to the *Alexandrian* computations, nor keep the same *embolimæan* years; so that in one of these years of the *Alexandrians*, they were sometimes twenty-eight days earlier than these last in their keeping *Easter*; and even in common years, there was a week's difference. Their paschal terms and canons were also different; the *Latins* began the paschal moon from *March* 5, inclusive, and extended it for twenty-nine days to *April* 3, exclusive: whereas the *Alexandrians*, followed therein by the eastern churches, began it on *March* 8, and ended it on *April* 5; there being a difference of three days, both in the beginning and ending. Hence the fourteenths of the moon began with the former on *March* 18, and ended on *April* 15, but with the latter they reached from *March* 21, to *April* 18. The *Latins* kept *Easter-day* from the sixteenth, to the twenty-second of the moon²; still taking care not to keep *Good-Friday* before the fourteenth, that a *Saturday* might intervene between the feasts of the passion and the resurrection: whereas the *Alexandrians* were a day earlier, keeping it from the fifteenth, to the twenty-first of the moon. The *Latins* at first fixed the earliest paschal *Sunday* to *March* 21, though afterwards (admitting the twenty-first to be the equinox) they changed it for the twenty-second, and the latest to *April* 21: but the *Alexandrians* extended them from *March* 22, to *April* 25, four days beyond the *Latins*. Their cycles too were as different as their canons; the *Alexandrians* using one of nineteen years, whereas the *Latins* made use of a cycle of eighty-four years, till the time of *Leo the great*; when, in A. D. 457, *Victorius Aquitanus* formed a new one of five hundred and thirty-two years, in which, to compromise as it were the matter between them, he placed the earliest paschal new moon on *March* 7, two days after the *Latins*, and one sooner than the *Alexandrians*; which served indeed to settle the paschal month, but the dispute as to the day, still remained. The canon of *Victorius* was not received in the east; and though it prevailed generally in the west, yet it was not followed by all churches: and as it excluded the fifteenth of the moon from being a paschal *Sunday*, the *Alexandrians*, whenever that fifteenth fell on a *Sunday*, kept their *Easter* a week sooner than the *Latins*. At last, in A. D. 525³, *Dionysius Exiguus*, to remove the differences which still subsisted between them, as well in respect of the *embolimæan* years, as of the paschal terms, invented his cycle of nineteen years; in which he tried to adjust them; and transferred the method of keeping *Easter* from the *Alexandrian Fasti* into the *Roman calendar*. This cycle being better in many respects than the others, though it did not please at first, yet got ground by degrees: and being adopted by the bishop of *Rome*, was received by most of the *Latin* churches under his patriarchate.

It was this cycle, which *Augustine* brought into *England*, and would have put upon the *British* bishops: who rejected it, as not having heard of it before, and as being imposed by a pretended authority, to which they were equally strangers. Neither this, nor the cycle of *Victorius* had ever been known or received in *Britain*; where they had always made use of the cycle of eighty four years; the same which the *Scots* and *Irish* had used from the time of their con-

¹ Petav. *De doctrina temporum*, part 1. l. ii. c. 63, 64.

² See *Bede*, edit. 1722. App. 9.

³ Petav. *ib.* l. vi. c. 5.

A. D. 654. version; it having been brought them by St. *Patrick*; the very same which the church of *Rome* herself had followed till the time of *Leo*, though she had thought fit to change it since for another. This difference in the cycles produced that variation in the time of keeping *Easter*, observed in the practice of the *Saxons*, according as they derived their conversion from *Scotch* bishops, or from *Roman* and *French* missionaries; which proved very inconvenient in many instances; particularly, in *Oswi's* court, where two *Easters* were often kept in the same year. His queen *Elfreda*, had been bred in *Kent*, used to the *Roman* custom, as the king was to the *Scotch*; so that when his *Lent* was over, and he was celebrating the festival of *Easter* on the fourteenth of the moon, when it fell on a *Sunday*, the queen and her retinue were in the height of their fasting and mortification; being advanced no farther than *Palm Sunday*. This diversity of custom had been born during the times of *Aidan* and *Finan*; but when *Colman* succeeded the latter, the dispute was revived; *Oswi* being of the *Scotch* persuasion, and his son *Alchfrid*¹, who governed *Bernicia* under him, espousing the contrary opinion: which had either been instilled into him, or he had been confirmed in it, by *Wilfrid*; who had been lately ordained priest by *Agilbert* bishop of the *West-Saxons*. *Wilfrid* was a man of very good parts and learning; had travelled into *France* and *Italy*, which had gained him the reputation, that recommended him to *Alchfrid*²: and having taken a liking to the customs he had observed there, became a strenuous advocate for establishing the same all over *England*. Uniformity was a thing desirable: and both parties being willing to have an end put to the controversy, a conference was opened at *Streneſhal* or *Whitby*; a monastery of which the famous *Hilda* was abbess. Both the kings were present; *Agilbert* with his *English* clergy appeared on one side; *Colman* with his *Scotch* on the other: and with these sided *Cedd* bishop of the *East-Saxons*; who had been ordained by the *Scots* and served for a faithful interpreter to both parties.

WE see on this occasion, how apt people are to ascribe any religious practice, which hath prevailed for a time immemorial, to an apostolical institution; even when it may be proved in the clearest manner to have been of a much later original. Both parties in this case undertook to justify their disagreeing practice by apostolical tradition; the one from St. *John*, the other from St. *Peter*: but with how little reason, hath been already represented. There was more weight in what *Wilfrid* (who, as *Agilbert* could not express himself readily in *English*, was the disputant on their side of the question) urged with regard to the general practice of the *Christian* churches; which he had been himself a witness of in *France* and *Italy*, and which, he was certainly informed, was the same in *Asia*, *Africa*, *Greece*, and all over the world, agreeing every where in the same circumstance of time, except among the *Scots* and *Britains*. In matters of an indifferent nature, it is fitting that the less number, should conform to the greater: so did bishop *Cedd*, and *Tuda* a *Scotch* bishop ordained in the south of *Ireland*; who upon *Colman's* retiring with his other clergy to *Scotland*, was made bishop of *Landisfarn*. *Oswi* and the whole audience being convinced in this conference; the *English* in general complied immediately with the general practice: as the *Picts* did *A. D.* 699, the *Scots* in *A. D.* 716⁴, and the *Britains* about *A. D.* 800.

ACCORDING to *Bede's* account of this conference, *Oswi's* fancy was much struck with a flourish thrown out by *Wilfrid* at the conclusion of one of his harangues about the prerogative of St. *Peter*, as superior to any other saint's au-

¹ *Stubbs Acta Pontific. Ebor. inter decem Scriptores*, p. 690.

² *Bede*, l. v. c. 19. *Vita Wilfridi*.

³ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 25.

⁴ *Bede*, l. v. c. 22.

⁵ *Ib.* l. iii. c. 25.

thority, and founded upon a text ¹ of scripture; which however it may serve to A. D. 664.
 make a figure in a pompous declamation, doth not really convey any peculiar
 privilege or authority. The king seems to have taken the words *Petrus* and *Pe-*
tra to have been the same, though full as different as those of *confessor* and *con-*
fession, and to have imagined that the bare promise of the power of the keys (which
 was not actually given till afterwards, and then to all the apostles equally, and at
 the same time) had conveyed some advantage or other to that apostle, whom he
 understood to be literally the porter of heaven. *Oswi*'s mind being once possessed
 with this notion, *Wilfrid* knew very well how to improve it for carrying the points
 he had in view, and for introducing into the practice of the *English* church, those
 rites and customs, to which he had been habituated in his foreign education and
 travels. ² He was a man of quality, graceful in his person, polite in his manners,
 abstemious in his diet, constant in his devotions, and regular in his life: he was
 a great master of his temper, and very firm in his resolutions; affable, insinuating,
 artful, and agreeable in his conversation, engaging in his address, easy, natural,
 clear, flowing and eloquent in his discourse; and as he knew the world per-
 fectly well, he knew how to seize the favourable moments for exerting his talents
 of persuasion. Thus is it that *Eddius* paints his character: but it appears plainly
 from his whole conduct, that he was very fond of himself; had a great opinion
 of his own parts and merits; and was too much elated with the success of his
 labours on several occasions, and the popularity he had thence acquired. He
 loved wealth, power, state, pomp, and splendor; perhaps the effect of his natu-
 ral disposition, and of a certain haughtiness of mind; but certainly much con-
 firmed by his foreign education; to which, and to the maxims he had imbibed at
Rome, all the troubles of his life were owing. He had studied at *Lion* and *Rome*;
 places abounding with books and professors in all sciences; and had made himself
 master of the *Roman* law, civil and ecclesiastical, a kind of learning unknown in
Britain; where, for want of other books, they could scarce study any thing but
 the holy scriptures.

WITH these accomplishments and advantages he soon gained a great reputation
 in the world, and a mighty ascendant over *Alchfrid*; into whom he infused all
 his notions: and by his recommendation, coming in a short time, to have the like
 credit with *Oswi*, he found means to introduce, not only the *Roman tonsure*
 among the clergy, but the antiphonies ³ and alternate way of singing in choirs,
 which he had seen abroad, into the constant service of the *English* churches. The end
 proposed in making former usages give way to these was specious enough; being
 for the promoting of a greater conformity between *Christian* churches: but the
 principle upon which this was done, (at least in the case of *Easter* day) as if such
 a conformity was absolutely necessary, and a deviation from it schismatical, was
 very dangerous to religion, and destructive of the rights and liberties of national
 churches; which have in all ages exercised a power of ordering their discipline, as
 best suited their own particular circumstances, and of appointing such rituals, cere-
 monies, and forms of divine worship, as they judged most decent and edifying in
 their respective countries. The agreement of the *Eastern* and *Greek* churches
 with the *Western* in the keeping of *Easter*, was urged indeed in the conference:
 but after *Oswi* was struck with the fancy of *St. Peter's* power, nothing seems to
 be pressed but an entire conformity to *Rome*, and no doctrine so much inculcated,
 as the super-eminent power of retaining and remitting sins, to which the bishops
 of that see make pretensions. It was this made so many *English* princes resign
 their crowns, to end their days at *Rome*; and it was this enabled *Wilfrid* to give,

¹ *Matth.* xvi. 18, 19.² *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 3. 9. 11.³ *Ib.* c. 43.

A. D. 664. at the first establishment of the *English* churches, a fatal blow to the liberties which they ought to have enjoyed, and which the *British* churches in the same country had always preserved inviolate. It may be proper to take notice of the first steps contrived to introduce a subjection to *Rome*; which, whatever were the views of *Wilfrid* therein, hath, in the course of ages since passed, proved the source of infinite calamities to this nation.

Account of
Wilfrid's con-
secration.

XV. *TUDA*, who had succeeded *Colman*, being carried off soon by the plague which then raged in the north; ¹ *Wilfrid* was by his friend *Alchfrid* deemed the properest person to introduce ² the *Roman* discipline, for which he had appeared so zealous: but care was still to be taken, that he should not be ordained by any prelates, either not received in the *Roman* communion, or else consecrated by *British* or *Scotish* bishops; who were now to be represented in an odious light to the people, and avoided, as if they had been schismatical. *Wilfrid* was accordingly sent to the *French* court at *Compiègne*, and there ordained in the thirtieth year of his age, by twelve bishops, among whom was *Agilbert*; who upon ³ *Kenwalch's* dividing his country into two dioceses, and erecting the see of *Winchester* for *Wini*, had quitted *Dorchester* in discontent; and retiring into *France* had been made bishop of *Paris*. This flight of the *Scotish* bishops, who for the simplicity and austerity of their lives, the perfect disinterestedness which appeared in all their conduct, and the exemplary discharge of their pastoral functions, were highly esteemed, was not universally liked. ⁴ There was still a strong party among the *Northumbrians* that were displeased at *Wilfrid's* success, who persuaded *Oswi* to have another bishop consecrated in his stead. *Chad*, abbot of *Læstingham*, a modest, pious, good man, was accordingly sent to *Canterbury*, to be ordained bishop of *York*; but finding at his arrival *Deusdedit* ⁵ the late archbishop expired on *July 14*, he went to *Winchester*: and was there consecrated by *Wini*, assisted by two *British* bishops, who adhered to the custom of their own churches in keeping *Easter Sunday*. *Wilfrid* returning home after a stay of above two years in foreign parts, found *Chad* in possession of his see, and retired to the monastery of *Rippon* which had been given him by *Alchfrid*. There he continued (as *Eddius* says) unless called off by *Egbert* and *Wulfere*, kings of *Kent* and *Mercia*, to do some episcopal act in their countries; labouring in a private way to introduce the *Roman* usages for about three years; when he was put in possession of the see of *York*, on the following occasion.

To carry on the scheme laid for introducing a conformity to *Rome*, and widening the difference with the *British* and *Scotish* churches, it had been resolved by *Egbert* and *Oswi* upon the vacancy of the see of *Caterbury*, to send *Wighard*, a *Kentish* clergyman, to *Rome*, to be there consecrated archbishop, in order to fill all the sees in *England* with prelates of the *Roman* communion. ⁶ *Wighard* dying of the pestilence at *Rome*, before he was consecrated, the two kings wrote to pope *Vitalian*, desiring him to find some other person properly qualified for such a charge; and to send him over duly consecrated, with full instructions for eradicating all the *British* leaven out of *England*: They seem to have insisted upon his being well versed in profane as well as sacred learning, on his understanding ecclesiastical discipline, and being a perfect master of the *Greek* as well as *Latin* language. Such a person was at that time extremely wanted among the *English*; who having none of their country capable of instructing youth in those studies,

¹ *Vit. Wilfrid*, c. 11. *Bede*, l. iii. c. 28. *Vit. Abb. Wyrimouth*.

² *Vit. Wilfrid*, c. 12.

³ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7.

⁴ *Vit. Wilfr.* c. 14. *Ric. Hagulstad. de epis. Hag.* c. 6.

⁵ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 28.

⁶ *Ib.* c. 29.

were¹ forced to go to *Ireland* for their education; nor was it easy at *Rome*, to *A. D. 564.* find any body that came up to the description. The Pope thought *Hadrian*, a *Neapolitan* abbot, who seemed qualified in point of learning, though not of age, for the dignity of a *Metropolitan*: it was on this last account, that he excused himself from accepting it, and recommended another, universally allowed to be fit for it in all respects, but disabled by ill health and a sickly constitution. The removing of this difficulty took up near four years; when *Theodore*, a *Greek* monk, and a native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, sixty six years of age, was recommended by *Hadrian*: but not accepted by *Vitalian*, till *Hadrian* had engaged to go with him into *England* and watch over his conduct, to prevent his introducing any *Greek* usages into the church of *Canterbury*. *Theodore*² arrived at his see on *Sunday, May 27. A. D. 669.* and *Hadrian*³, who was stopped by the jealousy of *Ebroin* *maire of the palace* in *France*, coming over two years after, he put him in possession of *St. Augustine's* monastery, where he lodged a great number of *Greek* and *Latin* books, which he had brought over with him, some whereof are still in being; and founded that famous school or seminary, which afterwards produced such numbers of learned men, eminent for their knowledge in all other sciences as well as divinity. His next care was to make a general visitation all over *England*; in which he was every where well received, and ordained bishops where they were wanting: This was the first time, that the archiepiscopal authority was acknowledged in all the churches of *England*. In the course of this visitation, coming into the kingdom of the *Northumbrians*⁴, he there found *Chadd* possessed of the see of *York*; which he, and the bishops, that were with him, judging to belong to another, passed sentence of deprivation against him for intrusion into a full see, and gave the possession thereof to *Wilfrid*⁵. To make
Chadd

¹ *Ib.* c. 29.² *Ib.* l. iv. c. 2.³ *Vit. Abb. Wintoni.*⁴ *Vit. Wilfrid.* c. 15.

⁵ I take this to have been a meer pretence, suggested first at the court of *Rome*, in order to have some colour for a sentence in favour of *Wilfrid*; and that *Eddius* cooked up his life accordingly to countenance that pretence. For as the sees of *Mercia*, *Dunwich*, *London*, and *Rocheſter*, were all vacant, when *Theodore* arrived in *England*, he could have no bishops with him in his visitation, except he had ordained them in his way to *York*; and it will appear presently, that he had not time for such a series of transactions, before *Chadd* was actually in possession of *Lichfield*. Nor, if we allow *Eddius's* state of the case, could *Chadd* be deemed an intruder, unless a royal nomination alone makes a full see; for he being also named to the see of *York* just before the death of *Deusdedit*, did not hear of that event till he came to *Kent*; and going from thence to *Wincheſter*, was ordained by *Wini*, without any delay. Whereas *Wilfrid* seems to have stayed two years abroad, and, as *Richard of Hexam*, c. 6. says, returned in the second year of his consecration, he probably waited some time for it, either on account of his not being thirty years old complete, or to have it performed in a pompous manner, not only by a canonical, but a synodical number of bishops. So long a stay, which might well enough be interpreted a dereliction of his see, appears otherwise unaccountable: and it is certain that he must wait for his consecration, till after *Agilbert*, who had been that very year 664, at the conference of *Hatby*, had quarrelled with *Kenwalch*; quitted his see of *Dorcheſter*, returned to *France*, and pass-

ed through all the forms of being made bishop of *Paris*, since he was the principal consecrator of *Wilfrid*. *Bede* also says expressly, l. iv. c. 2. that *Wilfrid* went over to be ordained in *France*, at the same time that *Wighard* was sent to *Rome* to be ordained archbishop of *Canterbury*, which was certainly some time after the death of *Deusdedit*, and was likewise after *Chadd's* ordination: So that *Chadd* having a prior consecration, and a like royal nomination as the other, could not with any justice be deemed an intruder, nor is he once mentioned as such, in all the proceedings at *Rome* in this affair.

Modern historians indeed have generally represented him in that light, purely upon the authority of *Eddius*; from whom later writers have copied implicitly, without ever comparing him with *Bede*, or considering the just exceptions that may be made to his testimony. He was *Wilfrid's* chaplain, and his business was not so much to write his patron's life, as to make an apology for his conduct; which was certainly condemned by *St. Cuthbert*, *St. John de Beverly*, *Hilda* and all the *English* saints that lived at that time, and even by the modest *Bede*; who says so little of a man, that made the greatest figure of any of that age, and furnished the most matter for an ecclesiastical history, that his very silence may pass for a severe censure. *Eddius* had plainly two views in writing; to exalt the glory of his patron, and to magnify the court of *Rome*: every page in his book is calculated to shew what power, influence, and credit *Wilfrid* had with all the princes and great men of his time: and whatever were the motives which inspired any part of their conduct, he still

A. D. 664. *Chadd* however some amends, *Wilfrid* quitted to him the grant that *Wulfhere* had made him of *Lichfield*; which by that prelate's residing there, became the see of the *Mercians*.

THIS is the account given by *Eddius*: but it is certainly a misrepresentation of the affair, and very different from the relation given of it by *Stubbs*¹, *Richard*², prior of *Hexam*, and ³*Gervase* of *Canterbury*; who all agree, that in the times of *Aidan*, who first converted *Bernicia*, *Finan*, *Colman*, and *Tuda*, all the *Northumbrian* dominions were subject to one bishop, and formed but one diocese; and that after the death of *Tuda*, the country was divided into the two dioceses of *Hexam* for *Bernicia*, and of *York*, for *Deira*. They say, that *Wilfrid*⁴ was made only

books in an insinuation, as if they acted in obedience, to what he calls the apostolical see and apostolical decrees. If *Theodore* goes to *York* in the course of his metropolitical visitation, he carries^a the ordinances of the apostolic see along with him; if he is willing to pardon *Wilfrid's* faults^b, it is out of deference to the apostolic see, or dread of its censures; and if he writes to *Aldfrid* to restore him, it is still on account of the authority of the same apostolic see, though in his letter to king *Ethelred*, who had not been so immediately affronted as *Aldfrid*, and therefore there was no occasion in it to mention *Wilfrid's* faults (for which reason probably it is recited at length as the most favourable to his character) he puts it chiefly upon the good, that prelate had done during his exile in converting the Pagans; and yet notwithstanding this letter, *Eddius* represents this *Ethelred* as receiving him well, purely on account of the Papal authority, which comes in like a parenthesis on every occasion. To set forth what a great man *Wilfrid* was, he says, that when he pleaded the cause of the *Roman Easter* at the conference of *Whitby*, when he was thirty years of age, he did it by the^c command of Pope *Agatho*, though in all appearance the Pope knew nothing of that conference till after it was over; and that *Colman* himself was convinced by his reasons, only he durst not own it for fear of his countrymen, though the contrary appears in all that humble good man's conduct. He makes all the^d wise-men, the council and the people of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, concur with *Oswi* and *Alchfrid* in the election of *Wilfrid*, though he soon after finds a strong party, c. 14. about *Oswi*, that got him to appoint another bishop. The honours paid him, and ceremonies used at the ordination of this young man at *Compiègne*, where the *French* bishops are said to carry him about the choir in a golden chair with their own hands, not suffering any others to touch him, appear to me incredible. He makes *Chadd*^e to come from *Ireland*, and to be ignorant of *Wilfrid's* appointment to *York*, whereas *Bede* positively says, l. iii. c. 21, 23. and l. iv. c. 2. that he was an *Englishman*, and at that very time abbot or prior of *Læstingham*. It was in *Wilfrid's* stead, or on his account, that, if we believe *Eddius*, *Putta* was made bishop of *Rocheſter*: it was to his recommendation that *Chadd* owed the see of *Lichfield* (for *Ethelred* it seems would have given it to any body that *Wilfrid* pleased) though *Bede*, l. iv. c. 23. assures us of the contrary. *York* was no metropolis at that time, yet he styles *Wilfrid*^f a metropolitan. If *Egfrid* was victorious over his enemies, it was because^g he and his queen were obedient to *Wilfrid*; for he never had any success after he quar-

relled with this prelate. Wherever *Wilfrid* goes, he is represented, as the chief director of princes, and as received in a most extraordinary manner: all *Rome*^h stood amazed at so great a man's appearing among them; Pope *John* interested himself so much in his health, that he laid his commandsⁱ upon him to leave off his custom of bathing every night in holy water. If he meets^k *Cedwalla* in exile, he restores him by his wife's advice to the throne of the *West-Saxons*: and when that prince is in possession of his dominions, he becomes his chief counsellor or minister of state; and yet cannot prevent those horrid barbarities which *Cedwalla* committed in the *Isle of Wight* and in *Sussex* at the very time that *Wilfrid* was in that country. If *Theodore*^l meets him at *London*, it is not to receive his submission or request for good offices to make his peace, but to beg his pardon, to confess an injury where none was done, and to press him to accept of the see of *Canterbury* after his death, which he foresaw would infallibly happen within one year, though the archbishop lived at least three years after *Wilfrid* was restored to *Hexham*, and five years after the death of *Earcwald*, bishop of *London* (which *Godwin* and ^m*Wharton* place in *A. D.* 685.) who yet is said to have been present at their meeting. I do not take notice of the miracles ascribed to *Wilfrid*, not one of them wrought to assist him in the conversion of a nation; all which *Bede* (credulous as he seems to be in such cases, when informed of them by men of veracity) entirely neglects, except the dream which he had, when he lay for four days like a dead person, at *Meaux*ⁿ: nor do I mention errors in other points of fact which I could point out; what hath been observed being enough to shew that *Eddius* deserves no credit, wherever the honour or reputation of his patron was concerned: His work hath more the air of a romance than an history.

¹ *Stubbs Aëta Pontif. Ebor. inter Decem Scriptores*, p. 1690. ² *Rich. de Hagulstadi* ib. c. 1.

³ *Gervasi Aëta Pontif. Cantuar. ib.* p. 1638.

⁴ So the ancient manuscript *de Archiepis. Ebor.* quoted by *Leland Itin.* t. viii. f. 64. *Cedda*, 2 *Arch. Ebor. factus cum sedes [scil. post Paulini cassionem] vacasset proprio carens Episcopo 30 annis. Usus est episcopatu 3 annis, et postea amore quietis vite honori cessit. Postea ab Wulphero Merc. rege factus est episcopus Lichfeldensis. S. Wilfridus 3 Arch. Ebor. primo factus fuit ab Alchfrido Pago Berniciorum episcopus Hagulstadenſis, postea ab Oswio Arch. Ebor. — exulabat imperio Egfridi — rursus factus episcopus Hagulstad. — Bosa 4 episcopus Ebor. — rexit 10 annis, et defunctus — S. Joannes episcopus Ebor.*

^a C. 15.
ⁱ C. 21.

^b C. 42.
^k C. 41.

^c C. 10.
^l C. 42.

^d C. 11.
^m *De epis. & decanis Londin.*

^e C. 14.
ⁿ C. 54.

^f C. 16.

^g C. 19.

^h C. 51.

bishop of *Hexam* by *Alchfrid*; who governed *Bernicia* under his father, and with his consent sent *Wilfrid* abroad to be ordained, in order to be always near his person and take care of *Bernicia* alone; that *Oswi*, in emulation of his son's zeal, got *Chadd* to be ordained bishop of *York*¹ (of which *Stubbs* in his history of the bishops of that see, reckons him the second, or next to *Paulinus*, and prior to *Wilfrid*, who administered it after him for ten years) to take care of the country under his own immediate government, *i. e.* of *Deira*; and that *Chadd*, after three years (which as he was consecrated in the middle of the year 664, expired in *A. D.* 667) quitted this see out of an extreme fondness for a quiet monastic life, and retired to his monastery of *Læstingham*; whence he was two years after drawn again and, prevailed with to take the vacant see of *Lichfield*. It appears from these writers, that *Wilfrid* leaving *France* about a year after his consecration, and landing in *Kent*, ordained some persons in this last country: and then, coming to king *Alchfrid*, was put in possession of his see of *Hexam*; and it was only upon *Chadd's* retiring, that he became administrator of the diocese of *York*, and then exercised his episcopal office over all the *Northumbrian* kingdom; which he had done for two years² before *Theodore's* arrival in *England*, or else he could not have made in *Oswi's* time, who dyed 15 Feb. *A. D.* 670. those repairs in the cathedral of *York*, which are celebrated by *Eddius*. This account is agreeable to *Bede's*, who had undoubtedly very good reasons to deviate in this point from *Eddius*; whose very words he yet quotes in the relation of some passages at *Rome*³; not having the same opportunities of discovering that writer's errors or partialities in relating what happened there, as he had in *England*.⁴ *Bede* says, that *Alchfrid* sent *Wilfrid* to *France*, to be consecrated bishop, *sibi suisque, for himself and the people under his government, i. e. in Bernicia*; that *Oswi*, emulating his zeal, sent *Chadd* to *Kent*, to be consecrated bishop of the church of *York, i. e. of Deira*; and without having any notion of his intrusion, or saying a word of his removal, observes that he was retired⁵ and leading a quiet life in his monastery of *Læstingham*, whilst *Wilfrid* had the administration of the see of *York*, and indeed of all *Oswi's* dominions, at the time that *Theodore* (who had supplied the uncanonical defect in his consecration) upon *Wulfere's* request to him, that the vacancy in the see of *Mercia* by the death of *Jaruman* in *A. D.* 667 might be filled, desired *Oswi* to engage *Chad*, to quit his retreat, and accept the see of *Lichfield*.

It is in this sense, that *Bede's* words in the place last quoted are generally taken; though as the printed text runs at present, they are far from being clear, and (what is more) they are not grammatical. The more obvious sense in my opinion is, that *Wulfere*, not *Theodore*, was against having a new bishop ordained, and desired *Oswi* to send them *Chadd*; and by the change of a letter of *ordinare*, in the third line of the chapter, into *ordinari*, which would answer to *dari*, in the second, the words would be capable of no other meaning: this too is the most natural sense, and the most agreeable to history. *Cedd* had been the principal person concerned in the conversion of the *Mercians*; and it is not unlikely but his brother *Chadd* had been one of his assistants in that work, before he made him superior of his monastery of *Læstingham*. It was natural for *Wulfere* and the *Mercians* to desire to have for their bishop, a prelate of an excellent character, whom they knew either personally or as the brother of their first converter, rather than another to whom they might be strangers. *Jaruman* had been dead two years before *Theodore* came over; it was high time for the archbishop to provide, and for *Wulfere* to desire, that his see might be filled, but it is much more

¹ *Simeon Dunelm*, c. 4.² *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 16.³ *Bede's Hist. Eccl.* l. v. c. 19.⁴ *L.* iii. c. 28.⁵ *L.* iv. c. 3.

A. D. 664. likely that the latter should pitch upon the person of *Chad* to fill it, than that the former should think of a man, whose ordination made him liable to objection. *Theodore* would of course order his own diocese, and supply the vacancy in the see of *Rockester*, before he visited the remoter dioceses; which doubtless he took in the order of their situation: and visiting first that of *London*, and probably that of the *East-Angles*, where he ordained *Bisi*, came into *Mercia*, through which he must necessarily pass, before he could enter any part of the *Northumbrian* territories. It was therefore whilst he was in *Mercia* at *Wulfere's* court, and before he got to *York*, that *Chad* was sent for, and a scruple was raised about his ordination; which *Osui*, out of his great desire to have it canonical, had probably made him decline receiving from his brother *Ced*, who did not die till *October 26*, after *Chad* had been ordained by *Wini*. One bishop was sufficient in cases of necessity for the consecration of another; and there had been several instances thereof in *England*: but because two *British* bishops (probably out of *Somerset* and *Devon*) had assisted *Wini*, who was the principal consecrator, *Theodore* judged it an irregularity, fit to be removed by imposition of hands; and this being done, *Chad* was put in possession of the see of *Lichfield*, within three months after the primate's arrival in *England*. For all writers unanimously agree, that *Chad*, at his death on *March 2*, *A. D. 672*, had sat in that see two years and an half, and consequently was possessed of it before *September 2*, *A. D. 669*. Whoever considers these circumstances will surely think the interval too short for these transactions, which *Edidius* places in *Yorkshire*, antecedent to *Chad's* settling at *Letchfield*, and be convinced that *Bede* was in the right, when he rejected all those particulars of the others relation.

Of some innovations in religion.

XVI. THERE are no events in those times, more proper to gratify the curiosity of a reader, or better deserving the reflections of an *Englishman*, than what may be observed in the conduct of *Theodore*, and in the history of *Wilfrid's* prosecution: and though the subject of them may be *ecclesiastical*, yet as they relate to the very constitution of the church of *England*, and are blended with the transactions in civil affairs, they ought to be allowed a place in a *General*, though principally a *civil* history. By the *constitution* of the church, I mean her *polity* and *discipline*, rather than her *doctrines*; which being foreign to this work, will be only mentioned occasionally, when, by being introduced at a particular time, or by becoming matter of dispute in the state, they adopt the nature of facts that are simply historical. It was about this time that attempts were made by *Wilfrid* and others to introduce the Benedictine rule, in which no regard was had to learning; this being afterwards enjoined by the capitularies of *Charle-Magne*, and to get monasteries, properly so called, founded in *England*: an institution very different from the seminaries of the *Britains*; which were properly schools of learning, serving either for the education of young noblemen, or to prepare persons designed for the ministry of the gospel, by a course of study, instruction, and religious exercises, for the better discharge of their pastoral office. They had indeed some places of retreat, where they gave up themselves entirely to devotion; but these were either in small islands, which lying at a distance from the continent, barred all communication with the world, or else in some wild desert or mountainous tract of country, where they led the life of hermits, and scarce ever saw the face of a mortal. We see in the *Life of St. Monacella* and others, that the women retired in this manner, as well as the men; but now nunneries were erected for receiving the *English* ladies: who, for some time after their conversion (when, imagining that they came into the world to live only to God and themselves, they took a fancy to withdraw from it, to pass the rest of their days in a religious community) had been forced

to seek that retreat in foreign monasteries. It was now that those usages and notions, which are styled by Roman catholicks abroad *La petite religion*, and branded by Protestants with the harsher term of *superstition*, began to be encouraged, and gain ground in this country. Such as the miraculous cures ¹ wrought by holy water, oil, and bread; which the *Saxons*, a simple, credulous, illiterate people, easily imagined to be attended with the virtues ascribed to them by their teachers. It was now that dreams, visions, apparitions, created by the disordered fancies of splenetic and weak persons, emaciated by excessive abstinence and austerities, came to be made the ground of certain doctrines in religion ², such as purgatory, &c. which came afterwards to be much abused, with whatever good design they might be propagated at first; for *Bede* probably had a good one in perpetuating a number of such stories, the truth of which he would not vouch ³, and rests entirely on the credit of his informers. But nothing was brought into such request among the *English*, as what passed upon them for relicks of some saint or other; which introduced a sort of devotion unknown to the *British churches*, and were thought to work greater effects in the relief of pains and cure of diseases, than the most tender mother can fancy from an anodyne necklace, or any of the old *Brigantes* could have expected from the spells of their *Druids*. We see nothing of this among the *Northumbrians* in the time of *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, *Scottish* bishops; who yet edified all that knew them, by their unaffected piety, exemplary charity, unwearied application to the discharge of their pastoral duties, and constant course of exercising themselves in all the acts of worship, fit to be offered by man to the Deity, that is, of a solid and rational devotion. But after these excellent prelates were removed, with their own clergy and such of the *English* as adhered to them, into *Scotland*, we find no point of devotion so much cultivated, as what related to relicks, or what the extraordinary veneration for them, and the high opinion entertained of their effects, brought likewise into fashion. No ⁴ church could be dedicated without some relicks being lodged in it; no relicks would be allowed as genuine, ⁵ unless they were brought from *Rome*: and hence arose an extravagant passion for journeys thither, to visit the venerable places, which had been hallowed by the blood of so many martyrs. These were reputed so very meritorious, that kings quitted their crowns and country, to end their days in the neighbourhood of those sacred stations ⁶. Noblemen and peasants, the clergy and laity, men and women, all ranks and orders of persons, vied with one another in shewing their devotion in this manner: and the zeal for these voyages to *Rome* seems at this time to have been as violent in *England*, as it was some ages afterwards, all over the West, for pilgrimages and expeditions to the holy land; when these were in their turn preached up as meritorious or expiatory, and became a fashionable way of commuting for sins, and of going to heaven.

AMONG other institutions, which began to take place at this time, that of private or auricular *confession* was one; which being once recommended, soon got ground, and prevailed to the exclusion of a great part of that public discipline which had hitherto been observed in all *Christian* churches. *Theodore* wrote, on this occasion, a *penitentiary*, to serve as a direction to confessors, how to conduct themselves in hearing confessions and enjoining penance; the work appearing plainly to be designed for this purpose, rather than to introduce an opinion of the absolute necessity of that practice, since he says expressly ⁷, that in case of necessity, confession to God alone was sufficient; and that which is previous to the priest's absolution is represented as no further necessary, than in order to be informed, what sort

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¹ *Bede*, l. v. c. 29, 30, &c.² *Bede*, l. v. c. 12.*Ecclesiastical History*.

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³ See preface to his⁴ *Bede's Hist. Eccl.* l. v.

c. 5, 11.

⁶ *Bede*, l. v. c. 7.

p. 52.

⁵ *Con. Magn. Brit.* t. i. p. 21.⁷ *Dochery's Spicil.* t. ix.

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of penance was required for every offence, and for the several degrees and circumstances thereof. It was one of the most difficult parts of the sacerdotal office, to know how to proportion the private penance to the crime; and this *penitentiary* was generally looked upon as the best rule in that particular: so that if *Theodore* did not directly enjoin and establish the practice, he at least endeavoured to make it useful; and contributed by his instructions as well to prevent its being abused, as to recommend it to the general observance of scrupulous penitents.

Parishes instituted.

XVII. THERE was another institution, extremely useful for the better instruction of the people, and advancement of the ends of religion, which is generally allowed to have been introduced into *England* by *Theodore*; who was undoubtedly one of the wisest and greatest prelates that ever filled the see of *Canterbury*. *Ethelbert* and other *Saxon* kings, as soon as they were converted, had founded cathedrals; and settled upon them large estates in land, sufficient for the maintenance of the bishops and their clergy. The revenue, arising as well from these lands, as from the tithes and voluntary oblations of the faithful in each diocese, was all at the bishop's disposal, and distributed by him into four parts; one being assigned for himself, and the other three for his clergy, the poor, and the repair of the fabric of the church, agreeable to the method¹ laid down in the apostolical canons. All the clergy lived in the bishop's family; where young candidates for holy orders were likewise educated, and sent thence from time to time to preach in villages, and to administer baptism and other offices of religion in the country churches; which were built in some places for the convenience of divine worship, when these itinerant preachers came to perform their ecclesiastical functions. *Bede*² tells us, that when any of these, whose only business it was to travel about for that purpose, happened to come to a village, the people flocked about them to hear them preach, and to join in divine worship: but those churches were not as yet erected into fixed *cures* or *titles*. This was but an occasional and imperfect way of instruction: and there were abundance of towns and villages³, especially in wild and mountainous parts of the country, which though they all paid tithes, or compounded for them by pecuniary payments to the bishop and his clergy, were not in the course of many years ever visited by a bishop, to confirm such as had been baptized, or by any other divine, who could instruct them in the true faith, and teach them to distinguish between good and evil; so that the best and most zealous *Christians* had rarely an opportunity of receiving the sacraments. *Bede* complains much of this defect, under which the province of *York* greatly laboured, in his letter to archbishop *Egbert*; whom he pressed earnestly to remove it, by taking in a greater number of clergymen to his assistance, sufficient to visit every village in his large diocese.

THEODORE, when he made his first general visitation of all the *English* dioceses, in which his archiepiscopal authority was universally acknowledged, had observed this defect: and set himself to redress the evil by the institution of parishes. *Whelock*, in his notes upon *Bede*⁴, observes from the *Codex Cantuariensis*, that this prelate made a greater improvement than had ever been made before his time in the *English* churches, by putting men of quality and fortune upon building churches in cities and towns; to which he allotted certain districts (generally of the same extent as the founder's estate) and distinguished them into parishes; the cure whereof was to be served by a fixed minister constantly resident. For their better encouragement herein, he procured them *royal licences*; that whoever were able, out

¹ Canon. Ap. 21. See *Bede*, l. i. c. 27.² L. iii. c. 26. l. iv. c. 27. *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 9, 16, 32.³ *Epist. ad Egbertum*.⁴ *Not. in*. l. v. c. 8.

of their own fund, to build and endow such churches, should enjoy the patronage thereof for ever: and as the lord of the manor, in which a church was built, though he endowed the living, was not always at the expence of the fabric (this being, as we see by the first of *Egbert's* constitutions, sometimes erected by the contributions of the parish priest and others) it was however in such case provided, that he should still be deemed the patron. This endowment generally consisted in a certain quantity of glebe, and in slaves or *nativi* to till it; to which the bishop added the tithes growing, and the oblations made by the inhabitants, within the precincts of the parish; the incumbent whereof ¹ could not be either put in or removed without his consent. These lords, or great men, generally built but one church on their manors or territories; which were often of so large an extent, that one place of worship was not sufficient for all their tenants: and this, in process of time, gave occasion in some parishes, as the division of manors, and the alienation of lands did in others, to the erection of *chapels of ease*, or (as they were at first called) *oratories*. These were used only for common prayers, or the ordinary divine service; the mother church enjoying as well the sole right of baptisms and burials, as all the tithes and possessions with which she was originally endowed, without any defalcation thereof ² for the supply of such *oratories*. But the same reasons, which rendered the institution of parishes necessary, holding in a certain degree for allowing all the offices of religion to be performed in such *chapels*, and thereby making them parochial; a liberty ³ was afterwards granted to the lords of manors, to assign a third part of the tithes to the ministers that officiated therein. The bishops too, finding it proper to encourage the building and endowing of more churches, were obliged at last, to put these later churches upon an equal foot with the first, to assign them all the tithes within their precincts; and by consecrating church-yards, and granting them the right of burials and christenings, to make them distinct parishes, entirely independent on their mother churches.

THE reason, why a licence from the crown was necessary to lords of manors for their endowment of churches, to which the right of patronage was incident, seems to be this: it was a received maxim, that the tithes, glebe, manse, and other possessions of the church ought to be free ⁴ from all *secular services*, burden, or rent whatever; whereas all *grants* of estates to laymen were clogged either with some service military or ignoble, or else with some rent, or other acknowledgment of superiority reserved to the crown. The reservation of such services and marks of dependence seemed inconsistent with the terms in which the grants of kings to churches were usually expressed, or at least very indecent to be used in instruments to which God Almighty, *who could hold of no mortal*, was made a party; they generally running in the usual style of "granting to God and the church of a certain place, "the possessions mentioned therein, by way of acknowledgment of his divine "bounty, to which they owed their crowns, and all the advantages of their royal "dignity." It was not in the power of the lords and great men to endow churches with any part of their lands, or the profits thereof, exempt from those services by which they held their manors, and which were the very conditions of their tenure, without being enabled to do so by a royal licence.

THERE was probably a necessity for it on another account, it not being clear, that our kings could in those days grant, at least without the consent of the states of the realm, any of the crown-lands by way of inheritance to lay-subjects: and persons, who have only a temporary right to their possessions, must be utterly incapable of granting

¹ *Egbert's Const.* 23, and 67.

² *Ib. Const.* 24.

³ *Spelm. Concil.* vol. i. p. 360, 444, 545.

⁴ *Ib. Const.* 25.

A. D. 664.

a perpetuity to others. *Bede*, in his letter to *Egbert*, complains of an infinite number of places in the diocese of *York*, that passed in his days by the name of monasteries, “but had nothing in them of the monastic way of living; all the revenues being spent in luxury, vanity, and intemperance; so that they were not useful either to God or man: no regular life being observed in them according to God, and the civil power deriving thence no benefit, since they were not possessed by military men to defend the country against barbarians.” He observes that kings had been so foolishly extravagant in the grant of such places under the name of monasteries, that they had not left themselves any lands to grant to the sons of the nobility, or of old warriors worn out in their service; so that these young gentlemen, not being able to marry, either led a roving life at home, corrupting virgins, even such as were consecrated to God, or else quitting their country, for which they ought to fight, went abroad to seek their fortune.” After this representation, he presses that prelate to use his interest with the religious prince then upon the throne, to resume those exorbitant grants, in which his predecessors had been surprized, or (to use the law phrase) deceived. “It had been usual for laymen, who had no manner of inclination to a monastic life, to purchase territories of kings, for a sum of money, under the pretence of founding monasteries: and to get moreover ‘*a right of inheritance*’ therein, conveyed to themselves by royal charters, confirmed (as if such grants of privileges to them were really worthy of God) by the subscriptions of the bishops, abbots, and lay-nobility; that is, in the modern style, by parliament. These laymen, having thus got possession of manors and towns, lived afterwards exempt from all *divine*, as well as *human* service; took into their houses either vagabond monks, who had been expelled from real monasteries for their disorderly conduct, or some of their own vassals and followers, whom they made to take the tonsure, and vow obedience to them; passing the time one while with their wives in getting children, and at other times within the enclosure of the places which they called monasteries; and going so far in some cases as to get grants of the like places for their wives to erect nunneries, who acted in same manner. This evil had in the last thirty years, that had passed since the death of king *Aldfrid*, grown to such a monstrous height in the province of *York*, that there was scarce an officer either civil or military, that had not, in the time of his service or government, got or purchased some such grants of a monastery for himself and his wife, and were called abbots, as well as governors and ministers.” *Bede* mentions these facts as universally known, and I have quoted this remarkable passage from him to shew, how early disorders and irregularities crept into monasteries; and how grossly the fondness of our *Saxon* kings for such institutions was abused by the infidelity and corruption of their ministers; who imposed upon them by pretences of religion, when they had nothing in view, but to glut their avarice at the expence of their master’s honour, and by exposing their country in a defenceless condition to the invasion of barbarous nations. I am sorry to add, that *Bede* ascribes the subscriptions of the lords spiritual and temporal, in confirmation of those scandalous grants, to a corrupt motive, and represents it as entirely owing to their love of money. But I must not omit observing, that it seems plain from the whole, that our kings, in those days, did not use to grant lands to laymen by way of inheritance or in perpetuity, except in order to dedicate them to God, and for the service of religion; nor even in that case without the consent of Parliament.

THESE things shew plainly the necessity of the royal licences, procured by *Theodore* for the endowment of parochial churches; which in consequence thereof

† *Jus hereditarium.*

were daily founded in all parts of *England* by the nobility and gentry, as well as by the bishops themselves in their respective manors. The patronage thereof was annexed to the endowment by the same common right, which made kings patrons of the cathedrals, sees, and monasteries of their own foundation; a right which all our *Saxon* princes enjoyed in these times, and exercised without dispute. Thus the *West-Saxon* kings¹ put *Birinus* and *Agilbert* into the see of *Dorchester*; *Wini* and *Leutherius* into that of *Winchester*: the former of which two last being afterwards expelled, was, by a simoniacal contract with king *Wulfhere*, promoted to the see of *London*. Thus *Sigebert*, king of the *East-Angles*², made *Felix* bishop of *Dunwich*, and *Furseus* abbot of *Cnobbersburg*; so the same *Wulfhere* made *Chadd* bishop of *Lichfield*, and *Sexulf*³ abbot of *Peterborough*: and⁴ *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Wilfrid*, and *Cuthbert*, were all put into their sees by the *Northumbrian* princes. This royal nomination was in those days conceived to be so necessary, that, when any prelates were thus appointed in conquered countries, they imagined they lost their bishopricks, when the countries, which composed their dioceses, were lost by the prince that named them, and came to be repossessed by the rightful owners. Thus *Trumwin* quitted his see of *Abercorn*⁵, when the part of *Scotland*, which had formed his diocese whilst in the possession of the *Northumbrians*, was recovered by the *Picts*; as⁶ *Eadhed* did his of *Sidnacester*, when *Lindsey* was reconquered by the *Mercians*. The person, so named to fill a see, was indeed to be approved by the bishops of the province; because it was their business to consecrate him: and this act was to be performed publicly in the greatest city of the diocese, that the people might give their attestation to his life and conversation; on which account it was deemed irregular, unless in a case of necessity, to take one from any other diocese, than that which he was appointed to govern. Kings indeed were soon prevailed upon to allow some monasteries the privilege of electing their own abbot from among themselves; which put others upon soliciting the same favour: but some ages passed, before they granted any such indulgence with regard to bishops; of which however, *Bede*, in his letter above-mentioned, suggests an occasion. After representing the evil consequences of the neglect of the pastoral duties, which was unavoidable in so large a diocese as *York*, he presses archbishop *Egbert* to use his credit with king *Ceolulph*, to engage him to reform the ecclesiastical state of his country, and to erect so many new bishopricks, that there might be twelve in his province. But as the exorbitant grants of that prince's predecessors, had made it difficult to find a vacant place for a new see, and sufficient endowments for new bishops and their clergy, he proposes that a *great council* should be called, and by a resolution or ordinance of that body, with the consent of the king and the prelates, some monasteries should be pitched upon to be the seats of new bishops. As the abbot and monks of such a convent might probably do all in their power to oppose an ordinance of this nature, he thought it would not be a bad expedient for engaging them to acquiesce in it, to give them a *licence* or *privilege* (termed in later days a *conge d'elire*) for choosing out of their own body, the person who was to be ordained, and who was at once to preside over the monastery, and his adjacent diocese; or in case there should be none among them fit for the episcopal office, they should still have the canonical examination and approbation of the person nominated out of some other part of the diocese. The kings of *England* did afterwards, on some occasions, take this method of endowing sees; and it is no wonder, that in such cases, they allowed the privilege proposed to the monasteries, whose abbatial *manse*, or the revenue of the abbot was annexed to the bishoprick.

¹ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7.² *Ib.* l. ii. c. 15. l. iii. c. 19. l. iv. c. 3.³ *Chron. Sax.* A. D. 655.⁴ *Bede*, l. iii. c. 13, 28. *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 24.⁵ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 26.⁶ *Ib.* c. 12.

Of the troubles raised by Wilfrid.

A. D. 673.

XVIII. WHEN *Theodore* came into *England*, there was certainly an extreme want of a greater number of bishops to answer the ends of religion, and perform the functions appropriated to their character; each diocese being of equal extent with a kingdom, except in *Northumberland*; which though lately divided, was administered but by one bishop; and in *Kent*, which had always two sees in it, though the smallest of the heptarchy. His archiepiscopal authority had been acknowledged in his first visitation; and now proposing to exert it for the service of the church, he convened a synod of bishops, ¹ with some presbyters, well versed in the ancient canons, and ecclesiastical discipline to meet at *Herudford*; which, though generally supposed to be *Hertford*, appears to me much more probably to be *Redford* in *Nottinghamshire*, because, *Bede* observes, the synod was held in the third year of *Egfrid*², and in his presence, and consequently the place lay in the *Northumbrian* dominions. The see of *London* was then vacant; and of the other six bishops (all that were in *England*) *Bisi* of the *East-Angles*, *Putta* of *Rocheſter*, *Leutherius* of the *West-Saxons*, and *Winfrid* of the *Mercians*, were present, besides the archbishop. *Wilfrid* of *York*, being perhaps in hopes of getting a *pall* for himself, or apprehensive of what was to be moved in the synod, sent his legates: but did not appear in person. When the council was opened, *Theodore* proposed to the bishops a book of canons, probably ³ the *Code of the universal church*; which had been approved by the General council of *Chalcedon*, and being translated out of *Greek* into *Latin* by *Dionysius Exiguus*, had been received by all the western churches; to which he asked each of them in particular for their assent: which they very readily gave, and promised to observe them carefully. Ten of those canons, which seemed particularly adapted to the state of the *English* churches at that time, and necessary to be put in immediate execution, he drew out of the book, and recommended to their more diligent care and observation. These related to matters of order for preventing disputes and indecencies; to an uniformity in keeping of *Easter*, and to a regular holding of synods; which was agreed to be done once year at *Cloveshoe*, on the first of *August*. But the canons, by which it was provided, that as the number of *Christians* was daily increasing, new sees should be erected, was that which the archbishop had most at heart, and which was really the most necessary of any; this is said not to pass without a qualification⁴, as if it was best to suspend the execution of it for the present. They were all, however, after a solemn consideration, agreed to, and subscribed by every one present before a public notary: and a declaration⁵ made, that whoever presumed to violate them, should be degraded of his sacerdotal office and excommunicated.

WHETHER it was left to *Theodore's* discretion to judge of the proper times and places for putting this last canon in execution, it was not long before he found a favourable opportunity for that purpose. *Bisi*, bishop of the *East-Angles*, being seized before the end of the year with a terrible illness, which disabled him from taking care of his diocese, the archbishop consecrated two bishops to supply his place; each of which was assigned a distinct see; *Æcci* fixing his at *Dunwich*, and

¹ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 5. ep. l. v. c. 24.

² *Ib.* l. iv. c. 5. and ³ *Johnson's vade Mecum*.

⁴ *Wharton (Angl. Sacr. tit. i. p. 426.)* thinks this clause of qualification, to be an *interpolation*, because it is not in the *Saxon* version, and the words seem not to be those of the synod, but inserted by some other hand. This seems indeed utterly inconsistent with the tenor of the relation of this synod, as well as irreconcilable with the proceedings that followed it. *Bede* also (l. v. c. 24.)

says expressly, that ten canons actually passed in this council which could not be, unless the additional clause be an *interpolation*; and I am apt to think, it was *Egfrid's* design in having it convened in his own dominions, to have this very canon, for augmenting the number of sees, enacted for the benefit of his own country; and that *Wilfrid's* knowledge of that design kept him from being present at a synod, held in the very diocese of *York*. ⁵ *Bede*, l. 4. c. 5.

Bedwin his at *Helmham*. The year following *Winfrid* ¹, not caring to part with any of his vast diocese of the *Mercians*, was deposed by *Theodore*: and ² *Sexbulf*, abbot of *Peterborough*, consecrated in his stead (as *Florence of Worcester* says) in *A. D.* 675. This new prelate was not very fond of having his see divided, and was too great a favourite with *Wulfhere*, king of *Mercia*, whose consent was necessary in the case, for the archbishop to proceed to the like extremity against him, whilst his patron lived. To shew however some compliance with the canon, *Sexbulf* did in the next year dismember those dominions of the *Mercians*, which lay beyond the *Severne*, and assigned them to the new see of *Hereford*; which *Putta*, upon the destruction of the possessions of his bishopric of *Rocheſter* by *Ethelred*, successor of *Wulfere*, was glad to accept. *Wilfrid* still remained the sole bishop among the *Northumbrians*, whose territories reached from the *Firth of Forth* to the *Humber*: too great in reputation and power to be attacked with any hopes of success, at least whilst he continued in favour with *Egfrid*, whose queen *Etheldriad* looked upon him as an oracle, and had, with her husband's consent, given him large tracts of land ³ to endow his rich monastery of *Hexham*. His wealth was immense, and he employed it magnificently; he had many abbeyes of his own; and all the abbots and abbeſſes throughout the kingdom were under his direction: the principal nobility had all their sons under his care: thinking they could not be so well educated under any other's instructions.

IN these circumstances, the archbishop was forced to wait, till the queen ⁴ had quitted her husband, to take the veil in the nunnery of *Coldingham*, where *Wilfrid* gave her the habit; a step, which *Egfrid* suspected, he had persuaded her to take, and looked upon him from that time with a less favourable eye than formerly. He married soon after a new wife named ⁵ *Ermenburga*, to whose envy against *Wilfrid*, which he ascribes to the suggestions of an evil spirit, *Eddius* is willing to impute the prosecution of that prelate. He assigns no cause for her hatred; besides what may be gathered from her frequent remonstrances to the king against the secular pomp and wealth of *Wilfrid*, the multitude of his convents, the magnificence of his buildings, and the infinite number, as well as sumptuous apparel and costly arms of his followers; a charge which it is not improbable but she might advance. This prelate lived in a very different manner from *Aidan*, and the other *Scotch* bishops ⁶, whose parsimony and abstinence was such, that, when they quitted *Lindisfarne*, they scarce left any buildings there, besides the church: they had no wealth but their cattle: if money was at any time given them by the rich, they immediately distributed it to the poor. They had no notion of providing splendid houses for the reception of great men, or of heaping up riches for their entertainment; the only reason of whose coming in their time, was to pray and hear the word of God; the king himself being never attended with more than five or six servants on those occasions, and rarely staying to refresh himself; or if by chance he did, it was only with the simple diet of the monk's table. These pious prelates never thought of the world: and were so perfectly free from avarice, that they would not receive from princes any grants of lands and manors for erecting of monasteries; unless absolutely forced to accept and employ them for that purpose.

WILFRID had driven these good men out of the country; and their monasteries were distributed to his followers, if he did not think fit to keep them to himself; as he did that of *Rippon*; where he entertained *Egfrid* ⁷ and all his nobility for several days together. He was continually getting grants of manors and whole

¹ *Ib.* c. 6. ² *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 424. ³ *Ric. Hagulstad.* c. 5. ⁴ *Hist. Eliens. Ang.* t. i. p. 598. ⁵ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 24. ⁶ *Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* c. 5. ⁷ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 17.

A. D. 673. territories, to found new ones; and first set the precedent of that practice of alienating the demesnes of the crown; which, through the mistaken piety of the *Northumbrian* kings, had, so early as the time of *Bede*, exhausted their revenue to such a degree, that they were not able to reward the service of their ministers, nor provide for the support of the sons of their nobility, nor even to defend their country against an invasion. *Wilfrid* had been used to the *Roman* pomp; his buildings were palaces; his furniture vastly sumptuous; his table was served in gold plate; his equipage shone in the richest apparel; he had an army of attendants, well provided with horses and warlike accoutrements; he¹ amassed immense wealth, perhaps in order to purchase the friendship of princes and bishops by presents, which either out of policy or vain glory, he made to both, with an unequalled bounty; and every thing about him was magnificent. The queen was a pious woman in the fashion of that age: and the onely fact *Eddius*² hath to alledge against her, is, that when *Wilfrid* was imprisoned, she took from him a bag of relics, which he had brought over to please the devout ladies, or (as *Eddius* says) for the consolation of the *English* churches, and which he puts God Almighty to the expence of a miracle to recover: she retired from the world, upon her husband's death, into the nunnery of *Carlisle*³, where she received the habit from St. *Cuthbert*.

A. D. 678. IT is no wonder that a person of this turn of mind, and many others who had been edified by the humility and simplicity of the *Scotch* bishops, should take distaste at the pomp and grandeur of *Wilfrid*; should represent it as necessary to diminish his revenues, and take from him the administration of *York*, which had been too long vacant; and be able at last to prevail with *Egfrid* to enter into *Theodore's* measures, and to concur with him in executing the late canon. It was agreed as well to fill up the see of *York*, during the vacancy, whereof the revenues of it had been enjoyed by *Wilfrid*, as administrator, or by way of sequestration; as to divide that of *Bernicia*, which had a diocese of a vast extent, and was sufficient to support more than one bishop in splendour. *Bosa*, being accordingly consecrated bishop of *Deira*⁴, was put into the see of *York*; *Eata* into that of *Hexham*, which contained the country between the *Tees* and the river *Alne* in *Northumberland*; and *Eadbed* into that of *Sidnacester*, which, since *Egfrid's* conquest of *Lindsey* about four year before, had hitherto remained under *Wilfrid's* administration. This prelate continuing obstinate in his opposition to the regulation ordered by both civil and ecclesiastical authority, there was, three years after, a further partition made: for *Lindisfarne*⁵, which being the ancient title of the see, had in this first division been left to *Wilfrid*, was then split into two dioceses: *Eata* fixing in that which bore the old title; whilst the country of the *Picts* was assigned to *Trumwin*; and *Tunberet* succeeded *Eata* at *Hexham*⁶.

¹ *Wilfridi vit.* c. 20, 60. ² *Ib.* c. 33, 38.

³ *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 8. ⁴ *Bede*, l. v. 12.
Ric. Hagulst. ⁵ *Angl. Sacra.* t. i. p. 633, 634.
Sim. Dun. l. i. c. 9.

⁶ It was perhaps out of regard to *Wilfrid's* merit in expelling the *Scots*, and introducing the *Roman* usages, that the archbishop proceeded against him with so much tenderness, as to leave him *Lindisfarne*, and not deprive him entirely; as it is generally thought *Winfrid* was, though I see reason to differ from that opinion. *Bede* (l. iv. c. 4.) says, that *Winfrid* was deposed *A. D.* 674, and retired to his monastery, called *ad Barne*, where he ended his days, *optima conversatione*, i. e. in the devout quiet manner usual in a conventual retreat. But he doth not seem very well acquaint-

ed with the fact, and his relation is at least imperfect; for we are assured by *Eddius*, *Wilfrid's* chaplain and companion in all his voyages (*Vita Wilfridi*, c. 24, 25.) that *Winfrid*, instead of acquiescing in his deposition, went abroad at the same time with *Wilfrid*, and in all appearance with the same design of an appeal to *Rome*; being probably one, if not the only one of the *Coepiscopi* who (as *Eddius* says) advised *Wilfrid* to that appeal. It proved very unfortunate to him, for *Egfrid* (as that apologist says) supposing that *Winfrid* would take the direct road to *Rome*, and land at *Quentovic*, now *Eslaples*, in *Picardie*, had wrote to *Thierry*, king of the *Franks*, and his *Alain Ebro* to stop his journey, and either keep him in perpetual exile, or else strip him of all his money on

THE archbishop, though he shewed vigour enough in his administration, was yet a man of great temper and prudence, and both these qualities appear throughout his whole conduct in this affair; in which he seems to have acted with no view but for the good of the church¹, and the advancement of the *Christian* religion. He had no reason to envy *Wilfrid* on any account: but he was obliged, by the duty of his office, to see the canons obeyed, and due care taken for the instruction of the people and the propagation of *Christianity*². *Wilfrid*, nettled

A. D. 678.

baggage, putting all his companions to the sword. *Winfrid* passing that way from the country of the *Mercians*, was, as he passed through *France*, mistaken for *Wilfrid*, through the affinity of his name, and treated in this manner: and either discouraged or disabled from pursuing his journey, seems (as we hear no more of him afterwards) to have returned home to his monastery. This is called *Barua*, and was seated in *Lindsey*, the name of that part of *Lincolnshire*, which lies between the *Witham* and the *Humber*. In that country lay the famous abbey of *Bardney*, which being founded in *Wulfhere's* time, I am persuaded was *Winfrid's* monastery, and that the true reading in *Bede* was *Barnac*, it being impossible, in all the ancient manuscripts that I ever saw, to distinguish the little *n* from an *u*, but by the sense of the word; an help which fails in the case of the names of places. *Bardney*, if spelt according to its ordinary pronunciation, might very well be wrote *Barnæ*, and I dare say, that no two informers of *Bede* would ever spell it in the same manner. *Bede* himself, in the very same chapter (l. iii. c. 11.) spells it *Beardaneu* and *Pear-taneu*, and we may observe the like difference in him with regard to the name of one of its abbots, whom he there calls *Aldevini*, and yet (in l. iii. c. 27.) he calls the very same person *Æthilun*. *Dugdale* and all antiquaries own their ignorance, as to the founder and history of the foundation of this abbey: but I am apt to think it was founded by *Chad* (see *Bede*, l. iv. c. 3.) when made bishop of the *Mercian* kingdom, at least the time, and what is known of the monastery, agree to this conjecture. It was usual for bishops in those days (when a monastic life was so much in vogue) to get monasteries founded in different parts of their dioceses; the abbacy of which they kept for their lives, that they might have a proper place of abode, whatever quarter thereof they visited (see *Simon Dunelm.* c. 9.) This was the reason why *Wilfrid* had no less than nine in his vast diocese of *York*; and for this reason probably *Chad* might found *Bardney* in that extremity of his *Mercian* diocese; which vied with the *Northumbrian* in largeness. It appears to me very probable that *Theodore* might leave *Winfrid* in possession of the part of his diocese that lay in *Lincolnshire*; for which this monastery of *Bardney*, in which, as well as in his see, he succeeded *Chad*, afforded him a convenient abode. The sentence, prescribed by the council of *Hertford*, in case of opposition to their canons, was degradation and excommunication; but it is plain, that these were not inflicted on *Winfrid*, and he seems only to be turned out of *Lichfield* (which is the expression of *Eddius*, c. 25.) and to be confined to the exercise of his function, which he still retained, to the country of *Lindsey*, where his monastery lay, and which from this time became a distinct see from the other, under the name of *Sidnacester*. He had indeed very little time there for

the exercise of his pastoral office; which might be the reason why it is not taken notice of by historians; for he was scarce got thither, when, ill fortune pursuing him, all that province was reduced by *Egfrid*, and continued for five years in the hands of the conqueror, till A. D. 679, when it was recovered by *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia*. His joining with *Wilfrid* in his measures of disobedience to the canon, and in the appeal made afterwards to *Rome*, might be the reasons why *Eadbed* was made bishop there A. D. 678, whilst it was in the *Northumbrian* hands; and why in the next year 679, when it was recovered by the *Mercians*, or at least in the year following, *Ethelwin* was made bishop of *Sidnacester*. It is however not unlikely, but *Winfrid* kept possession of his monastery of *Bardney*, till the time of his death; which seems to have happened soon after his *French* disaster, in the time of *Ethelwin's* holding that see; for it was during his time that I suppose *Ethelwin's* brother (whom *Bede*, as is above observed, calls both *Aldevini* and *Æthilun*) was made abbot of *Bardney*, as his sister *Æthild* was made abbess of a nunnery near adjoining.

¹ Ea quæ unitati pacis ecclesiasticæ congruerent, eo quo pontificem decebat animo—*Bede*, l. iv. c. 5.

² How necessary it was, for these ends, to erect more sees in the *Northumbrian* province at this time, appears undeniably from *Bede's* letter to *Egbert*, where even after three sees had been taken out of the diocese of *York*, he still represents it as too large, and the people in abundance of places utterly destitute of all instruction and opportunities of divine worship. This venerable writer conceiving a further division of the diocese to be the only means of removing that defect, pressed it strongly on the conscience of the prelate to use his interest with the king, and engage him to erect still more sees, the necessity of which must be vastly greater, when *Egfrid*, in concert with *Theodore*, and supported by a synodical authority, erected the sees above-mentioned. It was undeniably their duty, as well as in their power, to do it: and it would have looked like insulting *Wilfrid*, if they had summoned him to be present, whilst a matter, which they knew to be so disagreeable to him, was transacting. *Eddius*, in his apology for *Wilfrid*, complains of this being done in his absence, though that method seems to be taken to prevent the exposing an useful man, whose reputation it was fit to manage; for he could not, but with a very ill grace, oppose a thing of such urgent necessity, so evidently for the service of religion, and so expressly directed by the canons, to which he had consented by his legates, and which however it was his duty to obey. The same writer complains further, that none of the three new bishops were taken out of the subjects of the diocese, which, if the words are to be understood in their natural sense, was false in fact: for *Eata*^a was one of the

^a *Bede*, l. iii. c. 26, 23. *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 693, 694.

A. D. 678. at being deprived of a great part of his revenue, which arose from the portions of country allotted to the sees of the new bishops, came to court ¹, where the king and archbishop were sitting in judgment and giving audience to the people; and asked the reason why he was deprived of his income, given by princes for pious uses, without being guilty of any misdemeanor. Upon their reply, that they charged him with no crime; but had done their own duty, and would not repeal their ordinance, he denounced publickly, that he appealed to the see of *Rome* for redress. This appeared so new and singular to the audience, that it occasioned a general laughter, as a thing quite ridiculous. *Eddius* says, that he took this step by the advice of his fellow bishops: but it is very plain, there were none in *England* could join with him in it, except *Winfred*.

THOUSANDS of monks ² are said to have attended *Wilfrid* to the port at which he embarked, sailing with a fair westerly wind to *Frizeland*; where he was well received by *Adalgise*, prince of the country, and passed the winter; employing the time so well, that he converted him, with most of the nobility and some thousands of the people, to the *Christian* religion. During his stay, *Adalgise* received ³ letters from *Thierry* and *Ebroin*, offering him great sums of money, if he would deliver up *Wilfrid*, or send his head: but he threw them into the fire before the messengers, with these expressions of his indignation at the proposal, *So may that man burn, who betrays his friend out of avarice.* *Wilfrid*, in the spring, continuing his journey through *Alsace*, where *Dagobert* reigned, whom, *Eddius* says, he had entertained nobly and served greatly in his exile, and who now in return having tempted him in vain to settle in his country, by the offer of the bishoprick of *Straßbourg*, sent him thence with rich presents, and an honourable escorte, till having crossed the *Alpes*, he entered the *Milanesè*, a champain country, where he was handsomely treated by *Berthere*, king of the *Lombards*; who being tempted by the like offers to deliver him up to his enemies, rejected them with the same detestation as *Adalgise*. *Wilfrid* arriving safe at *Rome*, presented ⁴ a petition to Pope *Agatho*, in a council of fifteen bishops and thirty-seven presbyters, setting forth, “that in a synodical meeting of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other
“bishops concurring with him, his bishoprick, which he had held for above ten
“years without being accused of any crime, had been invaded; and not one, but
“three other bishops placed in the same see; who had been consecrated by the
“archbishop alone; that though this was uncanonical, he had not acted seditiously
“in opposing it; but contenting himself with a protest against the proceedings,
“which he had notified to his fellow bishops of *England*, had appealed to that
“apostolical see, whose sentence he was determined to obey; hoping, that by their
“synodical sentence the intruders might be expelled; or if it should be deemed
“necessary to put others into his see, and to increase the number of bishops, they
“would be pleased to order them to be such as he might live with in peace and
“concord; and that the archbishop and his fellow bishops might take such out
“of the clergy of his own church as they might think fit to choose, when as-
“sembled in a synod.” This, with some compliments to the see of *Rome*, was the substance of his petition.

twelve *English* youths, which *Aidan*, at his first accepting the *Northumbrian* see, took under his care, and bred up in his monastery of *Lindisfarne*, and he had lived ever since either there, where *St. Cuthbert* was bred under him, or at *Mailross*, of both which he was at this very time abbot. *Bosa* was bred in the abbey of *Whitby*^b, under the famous

Hilda; and *Eadbed*, perhaps *St. Chad's* disciple was chaplain ^c to king *Oswi*.

¹ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 24. ² *Ib.* c. 25.

³ *Malmesb. De gest Pont.* l. iii. c. 262.

⁴ *Concil. Magn. Britann.* tom. i. p. 45, 46
Vit. Wilfr. c. 20.

^b *Bede*, l. iv. c. 23.

^c *L.* iii. c. 28.

THE synod, in whose name¹, and not the Pope's, the sentence runs, was so pleased with this first precedent of an appeal to *Rome*, and with the deference expressed to that see in the petition, that, with a salvo to Pope *Gregory's* constitution, which they confirmed, for, there being at least twelve bishops in *England*, they decreed "that *Wilfrid* should be restored to the possession (not of *York*, which they avoided mentioning, but in general terms) of the bishoprick he had before; that such coadjutors as he should choose, with the consent of a synod, should be ordained by the archbishop; and those who had been made bishops in his absence should be expelled; declaring every person who should oppose this sentence to be degraded, if in holy orders, but if laymen, or even kings, to be excommunicated." *Wilfrid* having carried his point, staid at *Rome* till the *Easter* following; when another synod was held against the *Monothelites*: in which he sat and gave an account of the faith of the *English* churches on² that subject. Being dismissed, he returned home with a copy of the sentence, under the hands and seals of the members of the synod; and landing in the *Northumbrian* territories, delivered it to king *Egfrid*; who called a council of his nobility and clergy to consider of the contents. When it appeared what they were, a general dissatisfaction ensued; some not scrupling to exclaim against the sentence as obtained by bribery, and it was absolutely rejected: so little regard had the nobility and clergy of *England* for the papal claims of authority, even in an age, when they had an extravagant veneration for *Rome*, on account of its inexhaustable stock of relicks. The applying to a foreign jurisdiction was ever deemed in *England* a crime of the highest nature, and deserving of a punishment little less than capital; nor could any thing be more odious and insulting to both the civil and ecclesiastical governors of the nation, than the bringing over bulls, which pretended to repeal acts of the greatest service to religion; which they had done agreeable to the constant practice of all countries in the like cases from the first ages of the gospel, and in virtue of an authority, which though universally, and in one place or other continually, exercised, had never yet been disputed. *Wilfrid* was taken into custody by an order of the king and council: and sentenced to close imprisonment.

THE Pope had sent over *John*³, the præcentor of *St. Peter's*, to enquire⁴ whether the church of *England* was free from the heresy of the *Monothelites*; upon

¹ *Ib.* c. 31.

² *Ib.* c. 33.

³ This *John* came over with *Biscop*, abbot of *Hyremouth*, who brought a papal bull confirming the privileges granted by king *Egfrid* to that abbey, as *Bede* informs us in the Lives of the abbots of that monastery. It was that passage in this author which put the monks of *Medeshamsted* or *Peterborough* upon forging, in the name of Pope *Agatho*, the bull of privileges, in those days unknown, which is printed by *Dugdale*, in his *Monasticon* (t. i. p. 66.) and is recited in the *Saxon Chronicle* A. D. 675. Their abbot, in virtue of this bull, pretended to be exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction and all secular services and taxes, and to be the Pope's legate all over *England*, with other privileges sufficient of themselves to make it suspected, if all other circumstances did not evidently prove it spurious. 'Tis pretended that *Wilfrid* was sent by *Ethelred* to *Rome* to procure it; and that he bringing it over, delivered it to the council of *Hatfield*, where he signed it himself with the rest of the bishops. But *Eddius* knew nothing of all this; and these pretences are utterly inconsistent with his history of *Wilfrid*, who went to *Rome* on his own account, without passing through *Mercia*, and was not present at the council of *Hatfield*; neither was king

Ethelred at that council, where he is made to sign it. *Adrian*, a person unknown, is said to sign it as the Pope's legate, though, in the *Peterborough* chartulary, *John* is joined with him, and styled also legate. *Putta* is put among the subscribers as bishop of *Rocheſter*, though he had been translated to *Hereford* four years before; and *Quichelm* had been as long in possession of the see of *Rocheſter* (*Bede*, l. iv. c. 12. and *Godwin De præful.*) So as to the other charter of king *Wulfſhere* to the same abbey, pretended to be passed at the consecration of the church (see *Saxon Chron.* A. D. 656.) in the presence of several kings, and all the nobility; it is said to be dated A. D. 664, though the year of our Lord was not in use at that time, in the ninth year of *Deuſdedit*, which expired on *March* 26, that year, at which time *Suidhelm*, king of the *East-Saxons* was living (*Bede*, l. iii. c. 30.) whose successors *Sigber*, an apostate, and *Sebbi* are yet placed among the subscribers, as *Ithamar*, bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Wina*, bishop of *London*, also are, though this last was then at *Wincheſter*, and not removed to *London* till A. D. 666, and the former had been dead nine years before (*Bede*, l. iii. c. 20.)

⁴ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 17, 18.

whose

A. D. 679. whose arrival archbishop *Theodore* convened a synod to meet on *September 12*, at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*. It was purely ecclesiastical, being composed of bishops, and a great number of learned divines; who all agreed to receive the five first General councils, and signed a confession of their faith in the legate's presence: which, notwithstanding what had passed at *Rome*, did not hinder them from confirming the canon of the council of *Hertford*, for augmenting the number of bishopricks in *England*. Agreeable thereto the *Mercian* diocese, out of which *Hereford* had been already taken, was lessened by the districts assigned to three new sees, which king *Ethelred*, having recovered *Lindsey*, consented to erect: and *Sexulph* retaining *Lichfield*, the best endowed, and the largest in extent, *Ethelwin* was placed in *Sidnacester*, *Cuthwin* in *Leicester*, and *Bosel* in *Worcester*. *Winchester* was still the onely see among the *West-Saxons*: and *Hedda* having lost all that part of his diocese, which lay north of the *Thames*, and had, on *Kenwalch's* dividing it, been left to *Agilbert*, its further division was deferred till the death of *Hedda*, which happening *A. D. 703*, *Berctwald* consecrated *Daniel* to the see of *Winchester*, which comprehended *Hampshire* and *Surrey*; and *Aldhelm* to that of *Sherburn*, which took in all the rest of the *West-Saxon* territories.

*WILFRID*¹ had been near a year in prison, when the king and queen coming to the monastery of *Coldingham*, *Æbbe*, that prince's aunt, who was abbess of the place, embraced the opportunity to sollicite for the prelate's liberty. *Egfrid*, though naturally firm in his purposes, and determined to maintain his royal authority against the incroachments of the court of *Rome*, was yet, as *Eddius* owns, very religious: and notwithstanding *Wilfrid's* obstinacy², in rejecting the part which was left him of his diocese, with the offers of further favours, which the king had made him in case he would acquiesce in what had been done and renounce the authority of his papal bull³, did yet consent to his enlargement, upon condition that he immediately quitted the *Northumbrian* territories. *Wilfrid* thereupon went into *Mercia*; where *Beorthwald*, son to a brother of king *Ethelred*, gave him lands for the subsistence of the clergy that were with him: but he had scarce begun to build a small monastery for their accommodation, when *Ethelred*, who had married *Ostrytha*, *Egfrid's* sister, and perhaps conceived that prince's quarrel with *Wilfrid* to be the common cause of kings, sent positive orders to *Beorthwald* not to let him stay a day longer in his territories. This obliged the prelate to retire into the dominions of *Kentwin*, king of the *West-Saxons*: but the queen being sister to *Ermenburga*, *Egfrid's* wife, he was forced, after a short stay, to quit the country.

A. D. 681. THE *East-Saxons* and *Angles* were either tributary to the kings of *Mercia*, or under their influence, so that no *Christian* kingdom in *England* being likely to afford him a refuge from *Egfrid's* power, he was reduced to seek it in one, which, by its mountainous situation and the thickness of its forests, seemed to bid defiance to all invasions, but which was as yet pagan. *Wilfrid* coming into *Sussex*⁴, was kindly received by king *Ethelwalch*; who was himself a *Christian*, and promised him a sure protection. He there taught the people⁵ the art of fishing: and by that means afforded them a great relief in a time of famine; with which, having scarce had any rain for three years, they were sorely afflicted. This made them entertain a great opinion of him, and more readily hearken to his preaching; in which he was so successful, that he soon converted all the nobility and many thousands of the commonalty. For maintaining a body of clergy to assist him in this work, the king gave him a large tract of land about *Selfey*, where he built a monastery: and *Ceadwalla*, whom he had served in his distresses, by the good advice he gave

¹ *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 424.² *Ib.* p. 193.³ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 38.⁴ *Ib.* c. 19, 21.⁵ *Ib.* c. 35, 38, 39.⁶ *Ib.* c. 40.⁷ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 13.

him, which contributed to the recovery of his crown, being settled in the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, made him a grant of the fourth part of the *Isle of Wight*; which he had reduced, and which this prelate was very serviceable in converting. He continued in those parts five years: and in that time had brought over, either by his own instructions, or the king's influence, the whole nation in a manner to the *Christian* religion. A. D. 681.

WILFRID'S zeal and success, in propagating the gospel among the *South-Saxons*, worked much upon *Theodore*: and made him willing to overlook the past conduct of a man, whom God had made such a signal instrument of his glory, and whom indeed he had always treated with more lenity than he deserved; considering his refractoriness in opposing, for ends which appeared merely selfish, the regulations made in the northern churches for the common good of religion. In the first division which *Egfrid* and the archbishop had made of the *Northumbrian* dioceses, *Lindisfarne* had been reserved for *Wilfrid*, and had been administered, during his absence, by *Eata*, bishop of *Hexham*: but when *Wilfrid* had, in contempt of their authority, appealed publicly to a foreign judicature, and had, with an unprecedented insolence, offered his papal bulls, condemning their proceedings and ordering him to be reinstated, to the king and his great council, and was so little humbled by his imprisonment, as still to continue obstinate in rejecting that see and all other offers made him, and to insist on being restored to all he had before enjoyed, according to the terms of the *Roman* decree, it was thought proper, since there were no hopes of reclaiming him, to ordain a bishop of *Lindisfarne*. *Eata* had been long superior of the monastery in that place, and was desirous to be translated thither; his request was granted, and *Tunbert* succeeded him in the see of *Hexham*, which he enjoyed till the synod held *September 19, A. D. 684*, at *Twyford* upon the *Alne*. It is not known for what misdemeanor he was there deprived: but the king designing ¹ *St. Cuthbert* for his successor, could not prevail with him to accept the dignity, till he went in person with bishop *Trumwine*, and great numbers of the nobility and clergy, to fetch him from the *Isle of Farne* to the synod. The intreaties of all the world at last engaged him to comply; but choosing rather the see of *Lindisfarne*, *Eata*, under whom he had been educated, quitted it to him, and returned to his former see of *Hexham*. On *March 26* ², in the next year, being *Easter-day*, he was consecrated at *York* by archbishop *Theodore*, assisted by seven bishops, and died on *March 20, A. D. 687* ³, being succeeded about a year after by *Eadbert*. *Egfrid* was killed in battle against the *Picts* on *May 20, A. D. 685*, and his reputed brother *Aldfrid* mounted the throne; in the first year of whose reign *Eata* dying, was succeeded by the famous *St. John* of *Beverley*; who, upon *Beja's* death, was translated to *York* in *A. D. 687*, the second year of *Aldfrid*.

The circumstances of the *Northumbrian* dioceses afforded *Wilfrid* a favourable opportunity for making his peace, and getting to be restored to his see of *Hexham*; the church and convent of which place he had taken care to build and beautify in the most magnificent manner, chiefly for this reason, as *Richard*, prior of the convent, says ⁴, because he knew very well, that by the canons of the church, one bishop could not, except in a case of great necessity, hold two bishopricks together. The same author adds, "that though at *Rome* they were desirous, in their decree, to do some honour to his character, and save his reputation, Pope *Agatho* had, in the council there held, recommended to him to let another bishop be substituted in the church of *York*, and to be satisfied with recovering the possession of his new bishoprick of *Hexham*," which had been nobly endowed by the bounty and ⁵ authority of the

¹ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 28. *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 24.

² *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 695.

³ *Sim. Dunelm.* c. 10.

⁴ *De statu & epif. eccl. Hagulst.* c. 2.

⁵ *Ib.* c. 5.

A. D. 681. *Northumbrian* kings and princes, as well as favoured with great immunities and privileges granted by the same authority, which *Wilfrid* had easily got fortified by the papal. The clergy who had followed his fortune, and were the companions of his exile, grew 'tired of living in another country, and longed to return home; they had indeed a very plentiful subsistence provided for them in *Selesey* and the *Isle of Wight*: but if the possession thereof was not rendered precarious, it was become at least very uncomfortable by the miserable objects they had daily before their eyes², through the horrible ravages and barbarities committed in all the country about them by *Cedwalla* king of the *West-Saxons*; to whom *Eddius*³ however represents *Wilfrid* (whose patron *Edikwalch* he had slain) as first minister. They thought the death of *Egfrid* very favourable to their wishes: and the first step being to make their peace with the archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Wilfrid* seems to have made use of the mediation of *Earconwald*⁴ bishop of *London*, for that purpose. *Theodore*, pleased with the submission of a prelate, whose late services to *Christianity* had atoned in a manner for his former refractoriness, and merited some favour, was easily reconciled: and wrote to *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia* in his behalf, desiring he might be restored to the monasteries formerly given him in that prince's dominions. The motive urged in the letter to engage the king to that step, was *Wilfrid's* labours in propagating the gospel among the Heathen during his exile; yet *Eddius* makes no difficulty in imputing *Etheldred's* compliance, not to the archbishop's reasons or request, but to the authority of the Popes *Agatho*, *Benedict*, and *Sergius*, though this last was not raised to the papal chair till some years after, viz. 20 Oct. *A. D. 688*.

ALDFRID, successor to *Egfrid*, was a very religious prince; and had so strong an inclination to learning that he had quitted his native country many years before, to prosecute his studies in *Ireland*; continuing there till, upon his predecessor's death, he was sent for to take upon him the government of the *Northumbrian* kingdom. Whether he made any difficulty in the affair when the archbishop first wrote to him, or, out of apprehension of some disturbance from the haughty, grasping, and assuming temper of *Wilfrid*, was careful to have this prelate bound by some agreement, before he allowed him to return into his dominions, it is very plain, that it was not till the second year of his reign, nor till after *Wilfrid* had submitted to the terms insisted on by the king, and prescribed by *Theodore*, that he was suffered to return. These terms seem to be, that he should be restored to the see of *Hexham* alone, and drop all pretensions to the abbeys he had formerly possessed, at least to that of *Ripon*. *Eddius*⁵ pretends that though he was at first restored only to the see of *Hexham*, according to the bishop's desire; yet he was after some time put also in possession of what this writer affects to call his episcopal see of *York*, and of the monastery of *Ripon*, with all their revenue; but it is evident from *Bede*⁶, and indeed from *Stubbs*, and all other writers, that *Wilfrid* never was put into possession of *York*; and it may be gathered from *Eddius* himself, that he did not recover *Ripon*, till about five years before his decease. *Wilfrid* seems to have returned into *Northumberland* at the latter end of *A. D. 686*, or the beginning of the year following, when *St. Cuthbert* retired from his see of *Lindisfarne*, in order to die in the isle of *Farne*⁷; and had the administration of that see for about a year, till *Eadbert* was appointed bishop. In the mean time *St. John* of *Beverley* being translated to *York*, *Wilfrid* was restored to the see of *Hexham*; and enjoyed it quietly till the death of *Theodore*⁸.

¹ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 43.² *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12, 15, 16.*Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 41.⁴ *Ib.* c. 42.⁵ *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 43.⁶ *L.* iv. c. 3.⁷ *Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. Eccl.**Dun.* c. 10, 11.⁸ *Bede*, l. v. c. 8.

which happened *A.D.* 690. Whether *Wilfrid* thought himself by the arch-*A.D. 681.*
 bishop's death freed from the engagements into which he had entered with him, he began from that time to be very troublesome, to oppose the canons and regulations made in the time of his primacy, and to insist on his own being restored to *Ripon*. This monastery¹ had been founded by *Eata* (under whom *St. Cuthbert* was for some time prior, till removed to *Landisfarne*) and filled with *Scotch* monks: but these, upon their non-compliance with the *Roman* usages², having been turned out by *Alchfrid*, the eldest son of *Oswi*, who died before his father, it was given to *Wilfrid*, who had much enlarged and enriched it by new grants; which with great liberties and privileges annexed, he procured from the crown; and erecting a stately church, dedicated to *St. Peter*, got them easily confirmed by the papal authority. Whilst this prelate was prosecuting his appeal at *Rome*, king *Egfrid* had given it to *Eadbed*, upon his being driven from the bishoprick of *Sidnacester*, by the *Mercians* recovering *Lindsey*, *A.D.* 679. It is uncertain when *Eadbed* died, or whether it was ever regranted to *Eata* its first abbot: but *St. John* of *Beverley*, who succeeded him in the see of *Hexham*, was undoubtedly possessed of it when he was bishop of *York*, and seems to have got it annexed to the see, making it an usual place of his residence. Hence arose *Wilfrid's* complaints, as *Eddius*³ hath thought fit to represent them in his affected obscurity, that he was not only kept out of the church, which he had built in honour of *St. Peter*, with the estate and territories belonging to it, but the monastery itself was altered in its nature, and made an episcopal seat, notwithstanding the privileges granted to it by Pope *Agatho*. *Wilfrid* had so much interest with the nobility and clergy in the country, among whom he distributed his presents with a lavish hand, that he gave king *Aldfrid* a great deal of trouble: various quarrels happened and were made up; and no way could be found to keep him quiet, but by making him subscribe to all the canons and regulations made in the days of *Theodore*. He had not been present in the councils, where many of them passed; and excepted particularly to those which enjoined the division of large dioceses and the erecting of new sees, as being inconsistent with his present claims and Pope *Agatho's* general orders for his restitution to what he had held formerly. He was ready to confirm such of them as he liked: but a subscription to them all being insisted on, *Wilfrid*, to avoid it, retired into *Mercia*; where *Ethelred* received him well, and (*Sexulf* bishop of the *Middle Angles* being lately dead) gave him the administration of the see of *Licester*. It was during his stay in this country, that in *A.D.* 691, the see of *Canterbury* being as yet vacant, he, by *Ethelred's* orders⁴, ordained *Ost-for* bishop of *Worcester*, and two years after did the same office for *Suidbert* bishop of *Friesland*; *Berðwald* the successor of *Theodore* not returning from *France*, till the last day of *August*, *A.D.* 693.

THERE is an end of all government, order, and peace in a church, if a single bishop shall pretend to controul, and refuse to submit to the acts and regulations made by the authority of synods: but the court of *Rome* finding ever her interest in the disturbances of a country, hath in all ages been fond of encouraging such disobedience, and ready to patronize every restless and seditious spirit, that would sacrifice the liberties of a national church to his selfish ends, and by appealing to her, favour the claims of their usurped judicature. *Wilfrid* was sure of a support from thence; and this made him obstinate. Archdeacon *Boniface*⁵, who had been his preceptor and chief minister to *Agatho* and the succeeding Popes,

¹ *Vit. Cuthberti*, c. 7.² *H. E.* 1. iii. c. 25. l. v. c. 19.³ *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 44.⁴ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 23. l. v. c. 11.⁵ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 51.

A. D. 681. was still living; as was likewise *Sifinnius*, another friend of his youth; who afterwards, *A. D.* 707, was himself promoted to the Papacy. *Sergius* was now in the papal chair: and, at the instances of such powerful advocates, easily granted letters, enforcing *Agatho's* decree, and directing that *Wilfrid* should be restored to the possession of all he desired. These letters had no effect, being rejected with a general indignation by the king, the nobility, and the bishops; the two first resolving to maintain the right and prerogative of the crown, and the last being as steady in asserting the liberties and independence of the *English* churches. Thus the affair was drawn out to the length of twelve years; St. *John* of *Beverley*, bishop of *York*¹, having all that time the administration of the see of *Hexham*, and *Wilfrid* that of *Leicester*. A dispute of this nature could not be carried on without a good deal of distraction in a country; *Alfred* was concerned for the peace of his realm; the bishops for the sake of ecclesiastical discipline, which they saw openly insulted, and in danger of being utterly subverted: and it behoved both, for the good of religion, to have the affair terminated. It was resolved accordingly in the beginning of *A. D.* 703, to call a convocation of all the bishops in *England* in order to bring it to an issue; and the place of meeting was appointed on the plain of ² *Neslerfeld* in the *North Riding* of *Yorkshire*; where ³ tents were pitched for holding their assembly. The archbishop came in person to preside in it; several abbots likewise assisted at it: and the king was present with his council.

It was proper to have *Wilfrid* before them; and a bishop was deputed to fetch him to the synod. Pope *Sergius*, who had espoused his quarrel, had died on *Oct.* 2. *A. D.* 702; and they probably imagined that *Wilfrid* in that juncture might be disposed to hearken to some accommodation: but he knew the court of *Rome* too well, to doubt of his being supported in any measures he should take for bringing the church of *England* into her subjection. He appeared before the council, not like a criminal who had broke the canons, or a subject that was under their jurisdiction; but with the air of a superior, who contemned their authority, and of an accuser, that arraigned their conduct. When he was pressed to subscribe to the canons made in the late archbishop's time, he asked them, how they dared for twenty two years together to oppose the papal power, and to prefer the decrees of *Theodore* to those of the Popes *Agatho*, *Benedict*, and *Sergius*: and absolutely refused subscribing, unless with two qualifications, that would render it useless. As he excepted to the late archbishop's decrees and canons, because made at a time when he was not on good terms with him, it was proposed to him to submit his case to *Beretrwald's* judgment, and to engage under his hand to conform to his award without the least subterfuge or deviation: but this he likewise refused, unless he first knew the terms of that award, or might clogg his promise with the same qualifications as before. These were calculated to make his submission in either case only conditional⁴, so far as the decrees were agreeable to the rules of the ancient fathers; and provided there *was nothing in them, that differed in any point from the judgment of Agatho's synod and the decrees of the Popes his successors*. The king and the archbishop were both incensed at this obstinacy in refusing to submit to any trial or sentence but what determined in favour of his demands: and the council seeing there were no hopes of reclaiming him, was inclined to deprive him at once of all his abbeys and possessions, as well in the *Mercian* as in the *Northumbrian* dominions. But some of them

¹ *Ric. Hag. c. 12. Angl. Sacr. t. i. p. 424.*

² *Eddius* calls this synod by the name of the Council of *Attwina-watha*, and *Neslerfeld* lies

between two towns still called, the one *Wath*, the other *Hath*.

³ *Ita Bedae, c. 45. 46.*

⁴ *Ib. c. 51.*

thinking it too hard to turn him out of all, without leaving a place to serve for his habitation, it was proposed (probably by St. *John of Beverley*, whom it concerned as being possessed of it, and who had not the least tincture of avarice) to restore him to the monastery of *Ripon*, for which he had shewn such an inordinate desire. This however the council would not agree to, unless he promised under his hand, to live there quietly, never to stir out of the precincts of the convent without the king's licence, nor exercise any part of his episcopal office. When this sentence was notified to *Wilfrid*, he utterly rejected the terms: and bragging aloud of the services he had done, in driving out the *Scotch* clergy, in introducing the *Benedictine rule* into monasteries, and the alternate way of singing by responses into the choirs of churches, and in establishing the *Roman Easter*, tonsure, and other usages, appealed to the Pope; challenging those who had presumed to depose him of his dignity, to appear before the *Roman* tribunal, and see what the consistory there would think of his degradation. The king was so incensed at the arrogance of *Wilfrid's* discourse and behaviour, and at his appeal to a foreign jurisdiction, that he would have seized his person, and forced him to submit to the sentence, if the bishops had not interposed, out of regard to the safe-conduct, which they had promised him, and which secured him a safe return into *Mercia*.

WILFRID, thus by a synodical sentence deprived, inhibited from exercising his episcopal function, and in case of his non-submission subject to an excommunication, wherein all that communicated with him were likewise involved, was reduced, with the abbots and clergy that attended him, to a very uncomfortable condition. They were¹ avoided by all the world, as persons cut off from the society of the faithful; notwithstanding their appeal to *Rome*, and the letters of several Popes in their behalf: no body would be present at their ministrations in any act of religion, and such detestation was expressed of them, even² in *Mercia*, that *Hedda* bishop of *Lichfield* took upon him the administration of the see of *Leicester*, and *Wilfrid* was forced to quit the country and hasten his *Roman* expedition. *John VI.* was now Pope, and sufficiently disposed by the maxims of that court to justify the conduct of his predecessors, and³ to confirm their decrees; which was the substance of *Wilfrid's* petition, and comprehended in its consequences every thing else he had to desire. It was in vain to charge him with contumacy in refusing to submit to his metropolitan's orders and the judgment of an *English* synod: the precedents of former Popes were made the rule of the consistory's decision. *Wilfrid* was acquitted; and sent back with the Pope's letters to *Ethelred* and *Aldfrid*, notifying the sentence, which was in effect the same with *Agatho's*, and requiring it to be put in execution. *Ethelred*, who was retired into the convent of *Bardney*, received the letters with the submission of a monk, and recommended the affair to his successor *Kenred*: but there was more delicacy to be used in proceeding with the king of the *Northumbrians*; nor durst *Wilfrid* offer to approach his presence, without leave first obtained. He sent two of the most venerable of his clergy to ask it: but *Alfrid*, the wisest and most learned prince of the age, who very well understood the true constitution of the church and the just rights of the crown, told them plainly, by the advice of his council, "that though he had a great respect for their persons, and was ready " to do them any service, yet he would never hear a word from them on the " subject of *Wilfrid*; for what the kings his predecessors with their council had " determined, and what had been afterwards adjudged by the archbishop and all

¹ *Ib.* c. 47.² *Angl. Sacr.* T. i. p. 424, 427.³ *Vit. Wilfrid.* c. 49, 50, 51, 52, 55.

A. D. 681. "the bishops of *England*, he was resolved not to change, for any papal letter or rescript whatever."

ALDFRID had too much wisdom, steadiness, and resolution, to allow *Wilfrid* any hopes of being able to prevail with him to change his measures: and the prelate's restitution to his see and monasteries seemed very remote, when the death of that prince at *Dryffeld*¹, on Dec. 14, A. D. 704, and the troubles which immediately broke out among the *Northumbrians*, offered a favourable juncture for accommodating his affairs. There are certain modes of piety, which being preached up, and represented as highly meritorious, become fashionable in their respective ages; and whether reasonable or no in their practice, they are then ranked among the most necessary virtues and duties of religion. Such was virginity in the seventh age; it became a mode not only to abstain from marriage (a state of life which any body may reject that pleaseth, because it is a thing indifferent in its nature) but even, if persons were married, to abstain from the use of the marriage bed: and a lady's body being found unputrified after death, was of course deemed unsullied by human contact, and her sanctity no longer doubted. Thus *Etheldreth* became a saint, having lived² twelve or fourteen years with her husband *Egfrid*, and never suffered him to touch her; which might very well be the occasion of his dying without lawful issue, and the line of *Ethelric* being extinct. The distress of the country, over-run by the *Picts* after the battle in which *Egfrid* was killed, *St. Cuthbert's* credit³ with all the world, and the great merit and reputation of *Aldfrid*, the bastard son of *Oswi*, and brother to *Egfrid*, made the *Northumbrian* nobility unite on that occasion in the choice of his person for their sovereign. The case was otherwise at *Aldfrid's* death; his children being minors, the succession of the crown became disputed: and *Eadulf* getting possession of it⁴, *Wilfrid* thought proper to apply to him in confidence of their former friendship. The answer he received was harsh and peremptory; being ordered to quit the kingdom in six days; or else all his companions should be put to death: but *Eadulf's* reign was short; he was deposed in about two months, and *Osred*, a boy eight years old, yet the eldest of *Aldfrid's* sons, was proclaimed king of the *Northumbrians*.

IN the first year of this prince's reign⁵, *Berétwald* archbishop of *Canterbury*, being (as *Eddius* represents) intimidated by the papal menaces, and having promised *Wilfrid* to mitigate the severity of the synodical sentence against him, came with this prelate to a council of the *Northumbrian* bishops, abbots, princes, with the king himself at their head, held at a place on the eastern bank of the river *Nidd* in *Yorkshire*. The archbishop opened the meeting with a motion for leave to read the Pope's letters: and easily obtained, what in less difficult times would scarce have been granted. The laity not understanding the letters, which were wrote in *Latin*, *Berétwald* expounded their contents: and acquainted them with the Pope's threats of excommunication and degradation, in case they did not comply with the terms of his decree, and come to a reconciliation with *Wilfrid*. The bishops however opposed them roundly, and declared they did not see, how they could repeal the judgment given by their predecessors, with archbishop *Theodore* and king *Elfrid's* consent: which had been afterwards confirmed in the synod of *Neseterfeld*, by *Berétwald* himself and all the bishops of *England* there convened. The king was a child, *Berecfrid* the chief minister was gained to *Wilfrid's* party, and pretended to have made a vow, in the great distress *Osred* and his friends were in at *Bamburg*, to comply with the papal mandates and the late king's

¹ *Bede*, l. v. c. 19. *Flor. Wig.*

⁴ *lit. Wilfr.* c. 57.

² *Bede*, l. iv. c. 19.

⁵ *Ib.* c. 58.

³ *Vit. S. Cuthberti*, c. 24, 27.

design on his death-bed, in favour of *Wilfrid*, if God would please to deliver them from their enemies; whose hearts were turned from that moment, and *Osred* became master of the kingdom. *Elfreda* (if we may believe *Eddius* in this matter) attested *Aldfrid's* dying intentions; which had a great influence upon the lay part of the assembly: but the bishops retired apart to consult by themselves; *Berctwald* and *Elfreda* going to them by turns, and using their instances to bring them to an accommodation. At last, without conforming to the terms of the papal decree, it was agreed, that *Wilfrid* should be restored to his see¹ of *Hexham* (which had not been yet filled up, but kept under *St. John's* administration) and the monastery of *Ripon*, with all their rents and profits. He enjoyed them quietly till his death: which happened four years after, in *A. D.* 709, at his convent of *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*.

SUCH was the issue of the first attempt made to subject the *English churches* to the *Roman* judicature, set on foot by a man of the greatest parts, character, and popularity of any in the age wherein he lived; who employed them all in the most artful manner to propagate the principles he had imbibed, and the prejudices he had contracted in his *Roman* education; but in which he must have sunk finally, had it not been for some unforeseen accidents, and the troubles, which an uncertain and disputed succession had raised among the *Northumbrians*, and which disposing every body to put an end to all other occasions of embroiling a nation, opened a way for the compromise that saved him and his followers from ruine. In the history thereof we see clearly the sense of the *English churches*, with regard to their own independency on any foreign ecclesiastical power; the kings asserting their prerogative, the bishops, in every part of the island, maintaining their just and unappealable authority in the administration of their dioceses and in the exercise of discipline throughout the nation; and all the saints, as well as learned men in the country, adhering to them in support of their liberties against the encroachments of the papal power. This must appear not a little extraordinary, considering the pains that had been taken for many years to inculcate into people extravagant notions of some supereminent authority vested in *St. Peter*, different from what was common to the rest of the apostles; and yet not so personal to him, but that it descended to those who, sitting in the chair of *Rome*, pretended on that account to be in a peculiar manner his successors. These notions were evidently calculated, and directly tended to introduce a papal supremacy: there were others leading indirectly to the same end, that were likewise encouraged; such as the eminent sanctity of particular places and churches of martyrs at *Rome*; where also was to be found an infinite quantity of bones and other relicks of saints, to which miraculous effects were ascribed; so that princes left their crowns, and deserted the care of their people, to retire to a place, which they were taught to believe would ensure them a passport to heaven. It would have been well, if such voyages had been the only ill consequences of the stress laid upon trifling matters, and on the supernatural effects in the cure of diseases both of mind and body, imputed, without any divine promise or scripture warrant, to inanimate things, when hallowed by a sacerdotal blessing, or the touch of a saint, adjudged often to be so by very equivocal marks; such as the incorruption of a corpse, which, though perhaps owing to the soil where it lay, passed for a sure proof of sanctity in men, and virginity in the women. But the effects of these, being more general, were likewise more unhappy. People turning their devotion this way, and little observances engaging most of their attention, they began to neglect the more substantial parts and duties of religion: and *Christianity*, being made, by this manner of instruction, a less reasonable religion than it is in

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Decline of
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A. D. 593.

A. D. 655

XIX. THAT kingdom had made a great figure from the time of *Ethelfrid*, under whom the two provinces of *Deira* and *Bernicia* may be said to be first united. He had broke the power of the *British* chieftains, that ruled on the borders of his dominions, in the provinces seated in the middle of *England*: and had, by his success, enabled the *Mercian* princes to complete their settlements in those parts, the most northern of which he kept to himself. He was, by this means, master of all the country between the sea, which washes *Lincolnshire* on the east, and *Chester* on the west, which, through the *Britains* aversion to be cooped up within walls, and venturing an engagement in the open field with unequal forces, had fallen into his hands upon their defeat. ¹ *Edwin*, who succeeded him, enjoyed all his predecessor's conquests, and even extended them, by reducing the *Britains* of the forest of *Elmct*, in the *West-Riding* of *Yorkshire*, and in the most southern parts of *Lancashire*. ² *Oswald* kept possession of all the territories which the others had acquired, till his death at the battle near *Oswestre* allowed the enemy to over-run the country; which was however recovered, for the most part, by his brother *Oswi*. This prince enlarged his dominions northward, by either subduing several of the *British* and *Pictish* clans in *Scotland*, or rendering them tributary: and by his great victory over *Penda*, was enabled not only to recover the countries of the northern *Mercii*, *Middle-Angles*, and *Lincolnshire* ³, but also to keep all *Mercia* for three years in subjection. This state of dependency was very disagreeable to the *Mercian* nobility: and *Wulfhere*, the eldest surviving son of *Penda*, assuming the crown, they shook off the *Northumbrian* yoke, and regained the possession of all their country, south of the *Trent* and *Humber*. *Egfrid*, son and successor ⁴ of *Oswi*, reconquered *Lincolnshire* *A. D.* 679: but was drove out of it again five years after by *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia*; who defeated him in a bloody battle fought near the *Trent*, with the slaughter of a great part of the *Northumbrian* army. In this battle was slain, in the eighteenth year of his age, *Ælfwin*, a prince of amiable and noble qualities, the darling of both these contending nations, brother to *Egfrid*, and to *Ostrytha* *Ethelred's* queen; a loss regretted generally by the *Mercians*, but more so by the *Northumbrians*, to whom it was irreparable, and by the extinction of the line of *Ethelric*, proved in the end fatal to their monarchy. It was not unreasonable to apprehend that this accident might exasperate matters, and cause the war to be carried on with greater fury than ever: but archbishop *Theodore* taking occasion thence to represent the unhappy consequences of their quarrel, prevailed so much, by his wise remonstrances, upon two princes so nearly allied, as to bring them to a lasting peace, without proceeding to any further hostilities. By this treaty, a sum of money, the usual fine according to the legal estimation of a prince's head received among the *English*, was paid to *Egfrid* for the death of his brother, and *Lincolnshire* remained to the *Mercians*.

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⁶ *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 57.

his death, seized the crown, making himself master of the province of *Deira*; but such was the affection of the nobility to their late prince, that some of them retiring with his children to *Bamburg*, the chief city and fortress of *Bernicia*, and being there invested by *Eadulf*, a defection of the rest soon followed, ; and *Osred*, the eldest of the young princes, though but eight years of age, was advanced to the throne by a general consent. *Bereðfrid*, the most considerable of the *Northumbrian*¹ lords, who had distinguished himself by his attachment to *Aldfrid*'s family, and had, by his management, brought them all to unite in the behalf of *Osred*, had the care of the king's person and the protection of the realm during his minority; an important trust which he seems to have discharged with fidelity and vigour, ² repulsing the *Picts* at *Hefeld*, or *Carebouse* near the wall, when about six years after they attempted to invade *Northumberland*. *Osred*, after ³ a reign of eleven years, being killed, was succeeded by *Kenred*: who dying in about two years, *Osric*, the second son of *Aldfrid*, was placed upon the throne; and dying on *March 7*, *A. D.* 729, left his crown to *Ceolulf*, the brother of his predecessor *Kenred*, to whom it seems to have of right belonged.

A. D. 729. THERE are some differences in the accounts of the descents of these brothers, and genealogy of the *Northumbrian* princes, which it may be proper to mention on this occasion. *Simeon Dunelmensis* ⁴ says, *Ida*, the founder of their royalty, had twelve sons, and speaks of them as if they were all legitimate; whereas *Alured* of *Beverley*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, and others, making between them a distinction seldom observed among the *German* nations before they became *Christian*, allow only six of them to be legitimate, putting the rest in the class of natural children. *Osga*, from whom *Simeon* derives the descent of *Kenred* and *Ceolulf*, was the youngest of *Ida*'s sons, and is ranked by *Florence* among his spurious issue: but the *Cumbrian Britain*, who wrote the *Saxon* genealogies printed at the end of *Nennius*, and seems to have been cotemporary with those brothers, and their cousin-german king *Eadbert*, whose subject probably he was, makes them descend from *Edric*, the fourth legitimate son of *Ida*, in whose line, after the extinction of those of *Adda*, *Theodric* and *Ethelric*, his elder brothers, the right of the *Northumbrian* crown was vested ⁵. *Osric*'s disposition of the crown in favour of *Ceolulf*, brother to the very man who had supplanted him in the possession of it, affords a very strong presumption in behalf of this latter descent; for though a dying person may be willing that his resentments should be buried with him, yet it is not reasonable

¹ *Ib.* c. 57. ² *Bede*, l. v. c. 24.

³ *Ib.* c. 23, 24. *Sim. Dun.* c. 19.

⁴ *C.* 13.

⁵ In *App. i. ad Nennium*, the descent is thus stated. *Edric* begat *Ecgulf* who was father to *Liodwald*, father to *Cutha* and *Eata*: *Kenred* and *Ceolulf* were sons to the elder brother *Cutha*, as *Eadbert* king of the *Northumbrians*, *Egbert* archbishop of *York*, and *Ecgræd* (who died at *Rome* very young and without issue) were of *Eata*. *Simeon*, c. 13. and 18. agrees that these cousin Germans were the sons of *Cutha* and *Eata*: but instead of making these last to be sons of *Liodwald*, he represents them as his grandsons by his son *Cuthwin*. This I imagine to be a mistake arising from *Simeon*'s supposing *Cuthwin* and *Cutha* (names promiscuously used for the same person by all the writers of the *West-Saxon* history, and even by *Simeon*, who, in *Hist. de S. Guthbert*, calls this *Ceolulf* the son of *Cuthwin*, whom he calls here son of *Cutha*) to be two persons: whereas, in all appearance, they were only names given by different writers to the same

man; for the abbot of *Foreval* [*inter Decem Scriptores*, p. 695.] agrees with the *Cumbrian* author in making *Cutha* and *Eata* sons of *Liodwald*. It is not so easy to reconcile the higher part of the two genealogies, since *Simeon* says, *Liodwald* was the son of *Egwald*, son of *Aldhelm*, son of *Osga*, and the *Cumbrian* genealogist makes him the son of *Ecgulf* son of *Edric*. By the *Cumbrian* account (which I prefer as the more ancient by three hundred years, and given by a person who had the best opportunities of knowing a fact within the direct view of his writing) *Liodwald* was second cousin to king *Osui*, and grandfather to *Kenred* and *Ceolulf*, as *Osui* was to *Osred* and *Osric*, second cousins likewise to the two princes last named: whereas by *Simeon*'s, *Liodwald* is removed a degree lower in descent from *Ida*, and likewise another degree higher from *Kenred* and *Ceolulf*; who yet seem to be elder than their cousins *Osred* and *Osric*, who according to the *Cumbrian* author stood in the same degree of descent with them, from the common ancestor.

to suppose he should forget them to such a degree, unless for the sake of right, and from a motive of conscience. It is ¹ to this prince, whose learning, piety, religion, and readiness to reform the ecclesiastical state of his kingdom he celebrates in several places, that *Bede* dedicates his history.

CEOLULF, in ² the beginning of his reign, found himself involved in so many difficulties, and such a number of enemies upon his hands, that it was not easy to guess when he should see an end of his troubles, or what would be the event of those wars and commotions. It was for some time various; he was taken prisoner, thrust into a convent, and afterwards restored; yet he got the better of them all in the space of two years; when *Bede* having put the last hand to his work, says, he was at peace with the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Britains*; some of which last were in subjection to him, and the others, who were still independent, committed no hostilities. His kingdom likewise enjoyed such a settled peace and tranquility, that the nobility and other persons less considerable, forgetting their old inclination to arms, ran with such eagerness to embrace a monastic life, the prevailing mode of religion in those times, that *Bede* was apprehensive another age might feel the consequences of that general inclination. *Ceolulf* himself taking the same turn of devotion ³ at the latter end of *A. D.* 737, or in the beginning of the year following, voluntarily resigned the crown to *Eadbert*, his uncle's son: and professing himself a monk, lived above twenty years afterwards in the monastery of *Lindisfarne*. *Eadbert* was a wise and a great prince, brave and experienced in war, skilled in the arts of peace, vigilant and prudent in the whole course of his government. His dominions suffered no insult during his reign, ⁴ except in the beginning of it, when being engaged in an expedition against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* king of *Mercia*, without any regard to the faith of treaties, seized the opportunity to invade the southern parts ⁵ of the *Northumbrian* territories, then left unguarded, in confidence of the state of amity which had long subsisted between the two nations. The *Mercian* had soon reason to repent his invasion, sharing the like fate with *Eadbert's* other enemies; who were either defeated by him in the field, or reduced under his subjection. This last was the fate of most of the ⁶ *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, who lost a large tract of their country in *A. D.* 750, when *Eadbert* ⁷ subdued *Kyle*, and the adjacent parts of *Galloway*: and pursuing his conquests, made himself master of *Alclud*, the capital of their dominions, which seem from that time to have lost the name of a kingdom.

THE continued series of troubles and civil wars which broke out soon after among the *Northumbrians*, and lasted till their country was ruined, afforded indeed these *Britains* an opportunity to throw off their yoke: but exposed them likewise to the invasion of the *Picts*; who increased in strength as the others grew weaker, and were in possession of a great part of the *Strath-Cluyd* territories, when they were conquered ⁸, in *A. D.* 842, by *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, the first monarch of all *Scotland*. *Langberne* gives a list of seven or eight kings of the *Britains* in these parts, succeeding one another down to *Dum-nul*, who lived in the middle of the tenth century, and *Ailredus Rievallensis*, who, about *A. D.* 1150, wrote the life of *St. Ninian*, says, it was certain by histories, and by memory of men, that those *western* countries had kings of their own to the end of the *English* times: *i. e.* till the *Norman* conquest. But this last author, agreeable to the custom of ancient times, gives the style of King to the chieftains of considerable clans, that lived in a state of independency; as probably the old writers likewise did, from whom the other derived his cata-

¹ *Ep. ad Egbert and Prefat. ad hist. eccl.*

² *Bede*, l. c. 23. and *Continuatio*.

³ *Sim. Dun. Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* c. 16.

⁴ *Bede's Continuat.* ⁵ *Sim. Dunelm.* c. 18.

⁶ *Bede's Continuat.* ⁷ *Sim. Dun. De gestis Reg. Angl. Hoveden.* p. 402. ⁸ See *Inys's Diff.* p. 968. ⁹ *Hist. rerum. Albion.* p. 239.

A. D. 740. logue of princes. For the preface to the *Glasgow Chartulary* observes, that after the taking of *Alcluyd*, the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Danes* over-ran the country so continually, that abundance of the inhabitants quitted it, and the rest remained in a state of anarchy, till the time of king *Alexander I.* or his brother *David*, who re-established the see of *Glasgow*. These chieftains continued thus independent for some ages, being re-inforced by great numbers of *Picts*; who, upon the conquest of their ¹ country by *Kennet*, retired into *Galloway*, and there fortified themselves, till at last they were forced to submit, retaining still some of their liberties, laws, and customs, with princes of their own, though depending on the crown of *Scotland*, as *Fergus*, *Ucbtred*, and *Alan*, among whose daughters *Galloway* was divided. We see, in the history of the *Isle of Man*, such instances of the power of the chieftains here mentioned, and of their raising armies by their own authority to assist or oppose the various claimants of the kingdom of the *isles*, even after the time of *William the conqueror*, that their dependance upon the crown of *Scotland* doth not seem to have been very great, nor their clans in the condition of other subjects. It was much later before the *Scottish* kings left off to mention them under the distinct name of *Galweyenses*, in their royal charters and other acts of sovereignty: and it is certain, that as these people enjoyed liberties, so they spoke a language ² different from what was used in the rest of *Scotland*; the *Welsh* continuing to be generally spoke till the time of the reformation.

EADBERT ³, after his reducing of *Alcluyd*, received no molestation from the *English*, *Picts*, or any other neighbouring powers: they were all glad to be at peace with him; they honoured his person, and admired his great qualities. He was beloved and esteemed by all his subjects, who felt the benefits of his administration: and such was the fame of his virtues and the reputation which his actions had gained him abroad, that *Pepin*, king of *France*, frequently sent him many royal presents, as testimonies of his friendship and esteem. Thus happy in the situation of his affairs, and in the prosperity and obedience of his people, after having supported a tottering kingdom for twenty-one years, he took a step which exposed it to utter ruin. Full of religious sentiments, and carried away by the humour or notions of the times, he resigned his crown to his son *Osulf*: and retired into a convent, where he lived ten years; long enough to see the calamities which, in consequence of that action, fell upon his family and country. ⁴ *Osulf*, not knowing the world, nor understanding the art of government, like his father, had reigned little more than a year, when he was murdered by his own domestics, and his throne filled by *Ethelwold*, son of *Moll*; who was set up by the people, and does not appear any way related to the royal family. When he entered upon the third year of his government, *Oswin*, styled ⁵ *Clito*, who seems to be a son either of the late king or *Eadbert*, raised a body of forces to recover the crown: but was slain in a bloody battle fought for three days together at *Eldem*, near *Melroß*, in which *Ethelwald* got the victory. This usurper, after he had enjoyed the crown six years, either resigned ⁶ or was forced at ⁷ *Winchanbeale* (an usual place for holding councils and synods) to quit it to *Alcbred*, the son of *Ofred*; who, nine years after, was deserted by all his nobility, and forced to fly to *Kinotb*, king of the *Picts*, for refuge. *Ethelred*, son of the late usurper *Ethelwald*, was placed in his stead upon the throne: but had scarce possessed it five years, when he was driven ⁸ out by *Ælfswold* (son of *Osulf*, and brother to *Alcbred*) who recovered the crown of his ancestors. This prince, who is celebrated for his justice and piety, enjoyed it about ten years: and being then perfidiously murdered at *Scythelcester* (now St. *Sept. 23.*

¹ *Juny's Ib.* p. 161.

² *Buchanan.* l. ii. fol. 21. ³ *Sim. Dun.* c. 18.

⁴ *Ib.* c. 19.

⁵ *See Spelman's Gloss.* v. CLITO.

⁶ *Flor. Wig.*

⁷ *Sim. Dun. De gestis Reg. A. D. 765. Almed. Beverl.*

⁸ *Cbr. Sax. and Sim. Dun. A. D. 774.*

779.

Oswald's)

Oswald's) near the wall of *Severus*, by *Siega*, one of his Generals, was succeeded by his nephew *Osred*, son to the late king *Alcbred*. The improvidence or mistaken piety of the *Northumbrian* kings in making exorbitant grants of their demefnes to monasteries, had left so little power in the crown, that the murderer died five years after in his bed, and in his own country : and the new king, after a reign of one year, was surprized and seized by his nobility, shaved and put into a monastery ; whence he soon after fled to the *Isle of Man* for refuge from the cruelty of *Ethelred*. This usurper had murdered duke *Eardulf*, and put *Oelf* and *Oelfwine*, the two sons of the late king *Ælfwold*, to death, after drawing them, by fallacious promises, from the sanctuary of *York* : and seemed determined to extirpate the royal family. *Osred* was soon after invited home by the oaths and solemn assurances of several of the nobility : but, being betrayed and deserted by his troops, was taken, and, by the usurper's orders, was put to death at *Aynburg*, September 14, *A. D.* 792¹; as *Alchmund*, son of *Alcbred*, was eight years after by *Eardulf*. Thus was the line of *Edric* extinct ; which had afforded a race of great and good princes, under which the nation had been happily governed, and flourished in the height of power and glory : and the *Northumbrians*, in consequence of their repeated rebellions and perfidies, found themselves involved in all the miseries which are the never failing consequences of an uncertain succession.

THE fate of *Osred* and his predecessors was enough to deter any body from advancing a claim to the crown : the nobility being masters of the kingdom, seem to have been at a loss for some time how to dispose of it ; and in this exigence resolved at last to recal *Ethelred*, the son of *Moll*, from an exile, which had now lasted twelve years, to resume the government. ² *Ethelred* endeavoured to secure himself by the measures above-mentioned, and by the marriage of *Elfreda*, daughter of *Offa*, the powerful king of *Mercia* : but all his precautions were insufficient, being killed on *April* 18, in the seventh of his reign, at *Cobre*. *Osbold*³, a nobleman, was chosen for his successor by some of the princes : but being forsaken by all, before a month was expired, found himself obliged to fly, for the safety of his life, into *Scotland* ; where he died three years after in a convent. *Eardulf*, the son of a father of the same name, was then advanced to the throne ; but whether by those who had dispatched *Ethelred*, is uncertain : it appears however that they were soon weary of him, and General *Wada* putting himself at their head, a battle was fought two years after at *Billingboth*, near *Walalege*, in which they were defeated by *Ethelred*. These were times of such distraction among the *Northumbrians*, that (as *Alcuin* complains in his letters) “ no⁴ body's person could be secure among them ; no ad-
“ vice could do good upon them ; all learning, for which the country had been fa-
“ mous in the time of his master archbishop *Egbert*, was now neglected ; the mo-
“ nasteries were polluted with adulteries, the altar with perjuries, and the land with
“ the blood of their princes ; the same vices prevailed every where, as reigned among
“ the *Britains* in the time of *Gildas*, and the people full as ripe for destruction, the
“ kingdom being, in a manner, ruined by their intestine broils, perjuries, and trea-
“ cheries ; and that *Charle-Magne* was so incensed at what he heard of their con-
“ duct, that had it not been for his intercession, he would have taken ample vengeance
“ on such a perverse perfidious nation, which he deemed to be worse than pagans,
“ and have punished them for their continual rebellions and murders of their
“ princes.” *Malmesbury*, who quotes these passages, adds, that the crown of *Northumberland* was so precarious in its possession, and the accepting it so sure a step to death, that no body cared to venture upon it : and the nation was left above thirty years without a regular governor, exposed all the time as a subject of derision to all

¹ *Ib.* 792, 800.² *Ib.* *A. D.* 790.³ *Ib.* *A. D.* 796.⁴ *Malmesb.* p. 25, 26.

their neighbours, and a prey to every invader; till at the end of that term, in *A. D.* 827, they fell under the dominion of *Egbert*; and what kings they had afterwards were tributaries to those of the *West-Saxons*.

*SIMEON*¹, however, gives an account somewhat different: and speaks of kings that succeeded *Eardulf*, who seems to have been an active prince, and marched with an army to invade *Mercia*, upon king *Kenulf*'s giving protection to some of his enemies. *Kenulf* met him in the field with a numerous force, and a battle was like to ensue, but prevented by the bishops and nobility of both parties; whose mediation prevailed to have a peace concluded. ² *Eardulf*, when he had governed about ten years, was drove out by *Elfwold*; who not keeping his power above two years, was, in his turn, dethroned by *Eanred*, son of *Eardulf*. This prince is said to have had the chief command for thirty-three years, and to have been succeeded in it by his son *Ethelred*; who maintained his dignity till *A. D.* 850, when he underwent the common fate of the *Northumbrian* princes. *Osbert*,³ who slew him, seems to have passed the first twelve years of his government without any remarkable disaster: but then the *Northumbrians* setting up *Ælla*, a civil war ensued; which lasted five years, till *A. D.* 867, when an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Frisians*, and other pagan nations took *York*, and over-ran the country. These pirates⁴ had plundered *Lindisfarne* in *A. D.* 793; and the year following had treated the monastery of *Jarrow* in the same manner: but had not then advanced within land for want of a force sufficient. They came now in a large fleet, and in prodigious numbers, under the command of *Halfdene*, *Inguar*, *Hubba*, *Harold*, and several kings and chieftains, threatening a conquest of the whole kingdom; though having taken *York* on *November* 1, and advanced from thence as far as the *Tyne*, they did not think fit to pass the river; but returned back to that capital of *Deira*, which they made their head quarters. The two competitors for the crown suspending their quarrel, to guard against the common danger, joined their forces: and marched, attended by eight earls, to attack the enemy in *York*; but were both slain on *March* 21, *A. D.* 868, and their forces defeated in the action.

*THE*⁵ monk of *Jorval*, who should know the affairs of his own country: and probably had some account of them in the registers of his monastery, relates this event in a different manner: which seems to account for the *Danes* coming over at this time, not under private chieftains in a piratical way, as they had ever done before, but under the command of kings and princes, with the view of making a conquest of the country. He says, that *Bruern Brocard*, a *Northumbrian* nobleman, who had the care of the ports and sea coast, being absent from home in performing the duties of his charge, *Osbert* coming back from hunting with a small retinue, called at his house: and committed a rape upon his lady, who had entertained him nobly; and being inconsolable for the violence and dishonour she had suffered, acquainted her husband with it at his return. *Bruern*, full of fury at an injury of such a nature, went with a body of his relations and friends to court; and surrendering his land, with all that he held of the crown, renounced his homage and fealty; declaring that he would never hold any thing of him as his lord for the future: and immediately taking leave of his friends, went to *Denmark*; where he found means to persuade king *Codrin* or *Guthburn* to undertake this expedition. The account he gave of the state of the *Northumbrian* kingdom probably filled that prince with the hopes of a conquest: and assembling his nobility, particularly the two warlike brothers *Inguar* and *Hubba*, he came over with a great army; landing in *Holderness*, and destroying all the country before him, till he came to

¹ *Sim. Dunelm. De gestis regum. A. D.* 801.
c. 20.

² *Ib.* c. 21.

³ *Ib.* c. 20.

⁴ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 806. *Sim. Dun. Hist. Eccl. Den.*
⁵ *Chron. J. Brompton, p.* 802.

York, where he routed and killed *Osbert* in battle. The same author adds, that upon advice of that event, *Ælla*, whom *Brucn's* relations, after following his example in renouncing their fealty and tenures, had set up for a king, marched against them with his forces: but was likewise defeated and slain not far from *York*, at a place called from thence, and still bearing the name of, *Ellescroft*. This ill success brought on an agreement, by which the *Danes*, remaining in possession of their conquests, appointed *Egbert* to govern the country north of the *Tyne*, under their dominion: but *Inguar* marching two years after with part of the *Danish* forces to invade the *East-Angles*; and *Halfdene* with other of their chieftains being employed in different parts of *England*, the *Northumbrians* imagined they had a fair opportunity, either of deposing their king, or of recovering their liberty. They turned out *Egbert*, and set up one *Ricsig* in his stead, whose rule was of no long continuance; for *Halfdene* quitting his quarters at *Repton* in *Derbyshire*, and embarking his troops, landed at the mouth of the *Tyne*: and destroyed all *Bernicia* with fire and sword, from the eastern to the western sea, and from one end of the *Northumbrian* territories to the other. Thus ended that kingdom, after a continuance of three hundred and twenty eight years, if the miserable times of confusion, which took up the latter part of that term, may be reckoned in the number. An account of the *Mercian* and *West-Saxon* kingdoms, will necessarily take in the affairs of the lesser states of their neighbourhood; and compleat the history of the heptarchy.

A. D. 875.

XX. THE *Mercian* kingdom, founded by *Crida*, made no great figure till the time of his grandson *Penda*; who, by his victory over *S. Oswald*, made himself master of those parts of the *Northumbrian* territories, which lay south of the *Hum-ber*, and kept them till his death: when *Oswi* recovered them, but was three years after drove out of *Lincolnshire* and what he possessed south of the *Trent*, by *Wulfere* son of *Penda*. This prince had scarce settled the northern part of his territories, when he was attacked by the *West-Saxons*¹ in a different quarter: but their king *Kenwalch*, having passed the *Ouse*, which divided their dominions, was defeated by *Wulfere* at *Possents-birig*, by² some supposed to be *Potterbury*, but probably *Posenham*, towns lying near one another in *Northamptonshire*, and the latter parted only by the abovementioned river from *Bucks*, and *Stony-Stratford*. In consequence of this victory, *Wulfere* over-ran all the vale of *Bucks*, and the adjoining parts of *Oxfordshire*, as far as the *Thames*; all that country being in those days, known by the name of *Aspendun*. Whether *Cuthred*, son of *Cwichehelm*³, and nephew to *Kenwalch*, to whom the latter had given it thirteen years before, was, with his cousin *Kenbright*, slain or wounded in the battle, it is observed, that they died in the year of this action. *Wulfere*, to improve his victory, and do what mischief he could to his enemy, passed the *Thames*, and wasting *Surrey* with part of *Hampshire*, reduced the *Isle of Wight*: but these conquests being too remote from his own territories to be easily maintained, he made a present of the island and of the country of the *Meanuari*, a part of *Hants* bordering upon *Suffex*, to *Edilwald*⁴, king of the *South-Saxons*; to whom he had been godfather upon his conversion to the *Christian* religion.

Account of the kingdom of Mercia.

A. D. 642.

A. D. 658.

Wulfere, an active prince, at the head of a warlike nobility, seems to have been continually at war with one neighbour or other, and extended the dominions of the *Mercians* westward beyond the *Severne*: driving the *Briains* from what they had hitherto possessed between that river and the *Wye*; and subduing those tracts of country,

¹ *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 29.² *Chr. Sax.* A. D. 661.³ *Chr. Sax.* A. D. 648.⁴ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12. *Chr. Sax.* ib. *Flor. Wig.* *Brompton*, p. 772.

which formed soon after the ¹ diocese of *Hereford*, and part of that of *Worcester*; the former of which sees was erected, the year following his death, and the other about four years later. He reduced ² the kingdoms of the *East-Saxons* and *East-Angles* to a state of vassalage; in which they continued, paying tribute to the *Mercians*, till the end of the heptarchy: and appears to have been successful in all his enterprises, till the year before his decease; when, being defeated by *Egfrid*, he lost the province of *Lindsey*. The great slaughter, made of the *Mercians* in that defeat, put their affairs into a condition, which rendered it very unpolitic to provoke new enemies: and *Wulfhere* had too much spirit and bravery to acquiesce in such a loss, if he had not been diverted by an invasion from another quarter. It is very improbable that he should, in such a juncture, have any thoughts of new conquests, or be able to penetrate (as some suppose) so far as *Bedwin* ³ in *Wiltshire*, the very centre of the territories of the *West-Saxons*: but it is not at all unlikely, that these should embrace an opportunity, which seemed favourable, to have their revenge for former disgraces and ravages. It is for these reasons, that I judge *Æscwin* was the aggressor; and that *Wulfhere*, to oppose his passage at the *Ouse*, met him at *Bidenham* (which I take to be the *Bedanbeof* of *Florence* and the *Saxon chronicle*) near *Bedford*; where a battle ensued, the event whereof is not related by our old historians. *Wulfhere* died the same year: and leaving a son too young for empire, the government was assumed by his brother *Ethelred*.

A. D. 704. ⁴ THIS prince was, by all relations, much fitter for a cloister, than a crown: and yet the year after his accession, he wasted *Kent* in an horrible manner; destroying all the possessions of the see of *Rocheſter*, and not sparing either churches or monasteries. This success against a small kingdom encouraged him three years after to cope ⁵ with *Egfrid* king of the *Northumbrians*; from whom he recovered *Lincolnshire*: and a peace ensuing, he spent the rest of his reign of twenty nine years in a state of inaction. He retired at last into the monastery ⁶ of *Bardney*; leaving the kingdom to his nephew *Kenred* (son of *Wulfhere*) whom two years before he had put in possession of *Lincolnshire*. *Kenred* did not hold it above five years, before he resigned it to *Ceolred* ⁷ the son of his predecessor: and went in a fit of the fashionable devotion, with *Offa* king of the *East-Saxons*, to *Rome*; where he passed the remainder of his days in a monastery. *Ceolred's* reign is remarkable only for a battle ⁸ between him and *Ina*, king of the *West-Saxons* (at a place called *Woddesbeorge*, perhaps *Weddesborow* ⁹ near *Birmingham* in the skirts of *Staffordshire*, where *Ethelfleda*, governess of the *Mercians*, afterwards erected a fortress) and for some disputes with *Ethelbald*. This prince was the next heir of the crown: and succeeding to it upon *Ceolred's* ¹⁰ decease, founded the famous monastery of *Croyland*, in a place which had ¹¹ served for the retreat of his friend *St. Guthlac*, the first *Saxon* hermite.

THIS was but an equivocal mark of *Ethelbald's* religion, he was second cousin to the late king, ¹² being grandson to *Eapa* brother to *Penda*: and as ambition had been the cause of the first troubles of his life, so after he came to the crown he lived in a very dissolute manner, teaching, by his example, the *Mercian* nobility to

¹ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12, 23. *Ang. Sac.* i. 427. 469.

² *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7. 30. ³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 675.

⁴ *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 676. *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12.

⁵ *Ib.* c. 21. ⁶ *Bede*, l. v. c. 19.

⁷ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 709. ⁸ *Ib.* *A. D.* 715.

⁹ This place is eleven or twelve leagues from *Banbury*, if this last be the *Bonebiry* where *Hoveden* says the battle was fought; but as he makes *Ina* the aggressor in the war, it is not likely that

he fought in his own dominions, where *Banbury* was situated, though he might very well march from thence, to make an impression on the *Mercian* territories, whose princes at that time usually resided at *Tamworth*, whence *Weddesbury* is about ten miles distance. See *Camden's Staffordshire*, and *Alured. Beverlac*.

¹⁰ *Ib.* *A. D.* 716.

¹¹ *Ingulf. Hist.*

¹² *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 716.

have the same aversion to matrimony that he expressed himself, and to indulge themselves in a vague concubinage. Hence arose a general corruption of manners throughout his dominions; the same whereof flew into foreign parts, and drew upon him a severe reproof from *Boniface*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and his fellow bishops synodically assembled; as we see in their letter: which having been preserved by *Malmesbury*¹ gives an illustrious testimony of the chastity of the *old Saxons*, who, heathens as they were, punished every breach of it capitally and with marks of the utmost detestation. How far *Ethelbald* reformed upon this admonition in that respect, is uncertain: but he appears to have made the clergy some amends for the invasions, which, following his predecessors example, he had made upon their rights and possessions; granting to all the churches and monasteries within his territories a privilege² of exemption from all taxes, works, burdens, and secular services; except such as were necessary for the building of bridges, and the erection or repair of fortresses. This prince's fondness for pleasures did not stifle his ambition; nor did the enjoyment of the crown of *Mercia* satisfy his desires: the same passion that made him unquiet and seditious whilst a subject, kept him when upon the throne from allowing any rest, either to himself, or his neighbours. His sudden attempt upon the *Northumbrian* territories hath been already mentioned: but what took up the greatest part of his reign, was his wars against the *West-Saxons*³, with various success, and with very little intermission. The most remarkable of his fortunate campaigns was that in which he took and demolished *Somerton*⁴, a frontier garrison of the *West-Saxons* in *Oxfordshire*, about two leagues from *Brackley*, on the borders of the *Mercian* dominions. Peace was sometimes made between the two kingdoms; but never lasted any considerable time: it however allowed them on one occasion to join their forces together to oppose the *Welsh*, who had drawn together a vast army, in order to invade either the one or the other's territories, but were defeated by the two *Saxon* princes vying with one another in bravery. *Ethelbald* fell at last, after a reign of forty one years, either by⁵ the sword of the *West-Saxons*, as *Brompton* says, or, as others think, by the rebellion of his own subjects, being slain in a battle fought on *Seggeswald*⁶ between *Leicester* and *Newark*.

⁷ *BEORNRED* upon this event usurped the crown: but was soon driven out of *Mercia* by a general defection of the people; who restored *Offa*, the next heir of the royal line, being descended of *Eawa*, brother to *Penda*. *Malmesbury*⁸ says of this prince, that it is difficult to decide, whether his vices or his virtues were greater and prevailed most in his conduct: it is certain that he was infinitely ambitious; and, if he could but carry his point, never troubled himself about the lawfulness of his measures, or the justness of his enterprizes. *Brompton*⁹ mentions the *Northumbrians*, as the first of his conquests; the confusions and civil wars, that reigned in that country, affording him an opportunity of reducing *Nottinghamshire*: which they being in no condition to recover,¹⁰ it is reckoned among the counties that lay within his dominions, and of which *Offa* died possessed. There is a passage in *Bede*¹¹, which seems to hint, that in his time the kings of *Kent* were in some respect dependent on those of *Mercia*, and probably paid them tribute or some other marks of subjection. Whether *Lothair*, who had lately succeeded to the *Kentish* crown, had been negligent in paying that duty, which was

¹ I. i. c. 4.² *Concil. Magn. Brit.* vol. i.p. 100. ³ *Brompton*. p. 768.⁴ *Parochial Antiq.* p. 31.⁵ *Brompton*. p. 775. *Chr. Sax.* A. D. 755.*Petrburg. Ingulf Alured Beverl.*⁶ *Seggeswald* is an hilly tract of country, now bare of wood, and called the *Wold*, running from

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a place six miles north of *Leicester*, known by the name of *Seggs-hill*, along the *Fosse* road for about twelve miles towards *Newark* upon *Trent*.⁷ *Paroch. Ant.* p. 32.⁸ L. i. c. iv.⁹ P. 776.¹⁰ *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 156.¹¹ L. v. c. 24. *Fl. Wig.* A. D. 731.

A. D. 749. expected from him; ¹ *Offa* conceived a violent hatred against the people as well as their king: and entering the country with a potent army, routed them after an obstinate engagement, in which there was a vast effusion of blood on both sides, at *Oxford* upon the *Darent*; by which success his authority over that province was fully established. He was now able to draw into the field a strong body of auxiliaries from this and his other tributary kingdoms of the *East-Saxons* and *Angles*; which added to the forces of *Mercia* rendered him an over-match for the *West-Saxons*; who had hitherto maintained their ground against the most powerful and warlike of his predecessors. He attacked them accordingly in ² the year following: and having defeated their king *Kenwulf* in a battle near *Benington* in *Oxfordshire*, he took the place; and soon after made himself master of that country. *Gloucestershire* in a short time had the same fate, being entirely reduced by *Offa*; as ³ appears by his founding the abbey of *Bath*; which with the few towns of *Somerſet* lying on the same side of the *Avon*, were the farthest of his conquests westward. *Kenwulf* was a brave and experienced warrior: but being unequal in force to his adversary, was obliged to quit all the territories lying north of the *Thames*; which having belonged to the *West-Saxons* for two hundred years, were from this time reckoned a part of *Mercia*.

THIS series of success raised *Offa's* reputation to a great height: and the lustre of his victories, the fame of his great actions, and the merit of his good qualities made the world, which always follows fortune, and is blind to whatever is not the present or immediate object of its view, willing to overlook his bad ones, and obscured for a time the odium and enormity of his vices. *Charle-Magne*, the wisest and the greatest monarch of the age, cultivated a friendship with him; sending noble presents from time to time as a testimony thereof, and remitting upon his account to all *English* pilgrims and travellers, either for religion or learning, those tolls and customs, which were usually paid in those times by merchants or others for their goods or passage, and which made in all countries a considerable part of the royal revenue. Encouragements were mutually given for a free intercourse and commerce between their subjects; till the reverse of *Offa's* character coming to be known, and fame spreading the report of some of his enormous crimes (perhaps the treacherous murder of the king of the *East-Angles*) *Charles* was so incensed against him, that he was on the point of prohibiting all commerce with his subjects, and of proceeding to other extremities, if he had not been prevented by the instances of *Alcuin* (an *Englishman*, and a scholar of archbishop *Egbert*) whom he kept constantly about his court, and for whose piety and learning he had the highest veneration. *Offa* elated with the greatness as well of his power at home, as of his credit abroad, incensed for some reason or other against *Jainbert*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and envying *Kent* the honour of the primacy of *England*, resolved to establish one within his own dominions; to which the *Mercian* prelates, and those who lived in the country of his vassals, should be subject. It was a thing agreeable to the ancient practice of the primitive church; which had, for very wise reasons, adapted the *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction to the *civil*, confining the exercise thereof to the same bounds: but it was contrary to the custom which had hitherto been received in *England*; nor had any inconvenience yet been found in the primate of *Canterbury's* exercising his authority within the bounds of different kingdoms. The accounts given by various authors of this affair, and ⁴ the circumstances thereof are so perplexed and confused, so inconsistent with one another in some points, and so void in others of all support from any authority which deserves credit, that there

¹ *Brompton*. p. 776. *Chron. Petrib. Chr. Sax.*
A. D. 774. ² *Chr. Sax. A. D. 775.*

³ *Angl. Sacr.* vol. i. p. 586. vol. ii. p. 25.

⁴ *Angl. Sacr.* vol. i. p. 429. *Concil. Mag.*
Brit. from p. 152, to p. 167.

are only a few particulars relating to it that deserve to be mentioned, as being generally admitted or founded upon unexceptionable testimonies. *A. D. 749.*

It is agreed by all, that *Lichfield* was erected into an archiepiscopal see by *Offa* and a synod of *English* bishops assembled at *Calchyth*¹, at the latter end of *A. D. 685*, the year fixed by the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Florence*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, and others for this transaction; that all the sees in the kingdom of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles* were made subordinate to the primacy of *Lichfield*, and archbishop *Jainbert* was forced against his will to resign, not only all claim of authority over those sees, but also all the lands in *Mercia* belonging to his own see; which the king either kept to himself, or assigned to the new primate for the support of his dignity. There was still wanting the ornament of a *pall* to grace the new metropolitan, which was to be obtained from Pope *Hadrian*: and this being a work of time and negotiation, *Higbert*, bishop of *Lichfield*, for whom it was designed, died in the year following, before it was procured. *Aldulph* succeeded him, and, to keep free from any shew of dependance upon *Canterbury*², was consecrated at *Corabridge* by *Eanbald*, archbishop of *York*, assisted by *Tilbert* and *Hygbald*, bishops of *Hexham* and *Lindisfarne*. It happened at this time that there were two legates sent over by Pope *Hadrian*, to renew the ancient friendship and correspondence between the churches, and to recommend some rules relating to order, and canons received in other churches (as *Boniface*³ and *Lullus*, archbishops of *Mentz*, had lately done) to the observance of the *English*; who accordingly adopted them synodically. These having been in the *Northumbrian* dominions⁴, where none of their character had ever appeared before, came thence to the court of *Mercia*: and were present in a great council of all the bishops, princes, and nobility of the realm, before⁵ whom *Offa* made a vow to remit three hundred and sixty-five *manuces*⁶ a year to *Rome*, for relief of the poor, and maintaining the lights on *St. Peter's* altar. This solemn engagement, being followed with effects, was enough to carry his point in a venal court: but *Offa* omitting no means that could contribute to it, not only dismissed the legates, after an honourable treatment, with marks of his royal bounty, proper to engage their good offices in behalf of what he desired; but sent over likewise envoys of his own⁷ with valuable presents; knowing how welcome money would be at *Rome*; and the *pall* was granted according to his expectations. It is very probable that *Aldulph* might exercise his metropolitical power in presiding at *Mercian* synods; though it doth not appear he did so in any other instance, nor particularly in the consecration of any bishop, during the few years of *Offa's* life: but the two next successors of that prince, making it their business to reverse this, as well as his other illegal and oppressive acts; and the *English* bishops in general being for restoring the old constitution of the church, he seems to have abstained afterwards, not only from the exercise of the power, but from the use of the title, of archbishop. Thus, in a synod held, according to the *Saxon Chronicle* and the evidences of *Christ Church, Canterbury*⁸, in *A. D. 796*; in which archbishop *Athelard*, who had succeeded *Jainbert* *A. D. 790*, presided, agreeable to the ancient right of his

¹ I take this place to be *Calceoyth* or *Calceoyd*, near *Mutberne* and *Chepstow* in *Monmouthshire*, on the *Severn* shore, where the kings of *England* had anciently a royal seat or castle; and *Offa* chose generally to reside in this part of his dominions. This castle lies in the mid-way between *Bath*, where he founded an abbey, and *Sutton*, near *Hereford*, where he kept his court when king *Ethelbert* was assassinated. See *Leland's Itin.* t. v. f. 5. t. vii. f. 152. But this conjecture is founded on *Offa's* residence in those parts; else *Chelsey*, near *London*, seems a more convenient place of meeting; and it is in old

records called *Chelche-hith*; and was a seat of the *Mercian* kings. See *Camden in Middlesex*.

² *Chr. Mailros, Ric. Hagulst.* l. i. c. 16. *Sim. Dun. De gestis Regum.* *A. D. 786*.

³ *Concil. M. Brit.* vol. i. p. 90, 145.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 151. ⁵ *Angl. Sacr.* l. i. p. 461.

⁶ A *manuse* was of the value of thirty *Saxon* pence, or about seven shillings and six pence of our money now.

⁷ *Matth. Paris in vit. Off.* p. 21.

⁸ *Decem Scriptores*, p. 2211, 2212.

A. D. 749. see; *Aldulph* subscribing to the acts of the council among a great number of other bishops, styles himself onely bishop of *Lichfield*. The grant of the *pall*, however, was not yet revoked: and Pope *Leo III.* according to the politic maxims of the court of *Rome*, did not care to reverse his predecessor's acts; alledging in excuse, that what *Hadrian* had done, was at the request of the bishops of *England*. This drew the affair into length; notwithstanding the earnestness with which *Kemulf*, king of *Mercia*, pressed it, and the insinuations in a letter of the *English* bishops to the Pope himself, as if the delay was owing to avarice. At last, upon *Athelard's* going himself to *Rome*, with fresh letters and presents to the *Pope*, an expedient was found out for terminating the affair; without *Leo's* throwing any direct slur upon *Hadrian's* memory, or passing any solemn act of his own to reverse the other's privilege in favour of *Lichfield*. All that he would appear to do, was to forbid any invasions of the rights of the see of *Canterbury*: but he consented that the grant of the *pall* and metropolitical dignity to *Lichfield* should be declared null by the authority of an *English* synod, on account of its being obtained by surprize and fallacious suggestions. This was done accordingly, upon *Athelard's* return, with a perfect unanimity in the synod of *Cloveshoe*; the acts of which appear signed in a more solemn manner than those of other councils (at least the signatures are better preserved, or more fully copied) being subscribed by the inferior clergy, the presbyters, and archdeacons, as well as the bishops and abbots; *Adulf* himself signing his name in the order of prelates, next to the archbishops.

THE kingdom of the *East-Angles* had been long tributary to the *Mercian*: but still continued to have princes of its own; who enjoying the revenue of the crown, governed it according to the laws and customs of the province. *Offa* had long wished to have it in his own immediate subjection, and only waited for an opportunity of seizing it; having no scruple about the means of effecting any of his purposes. *Ethelbert*, onely son of the late king *Ethelred*,² and the last heir of the royal family, was now upon the throne; a young prince of very amiable qualities; a fine person, and great virtues. The goodness of his nature, the humility of his mind, the regularity of his life, the regard he shewed to religion in all his actions, and to justice in all his administration, with the clemency he exercised on all fitting occasions, rendered him the delight of his people: who wanted nothing to complete their happiness, but an heir to succeed to the crown after his decease. He had been bred to letters; and being fond of study, had either no taste for marriage, or perhaps avoided it from an apprehension of some inconveniences in that state of life; or rather out of what would pass for a motive of religion in an age, when all other *Christian* graces were thought to yield in point of merit to virginity. The universal desire and common good of his people, the distraction and troubles that the kingdom would infallibly fall into for want of an heir to the crown, were topicks continually insisted on by the nobility, and even by his bishops, to engage him to marry: and these being urged both in public and private, weighed so much with him at last, that he called a great council to consider of the matter. It was the unanimous opinion of this assembly, that the king should marry: and count *Oswald*, the chief of his council, proposing a match with *Offa's* legitimate daughter *Althrida*, a young princess of great piety and merit, who, after the tragical event here to be related, renounced the world, and lived an hermit's life in the marshes of *Croyland*, there appeared so many reasons of policy and convenience to support the motion, that it met with a general approbation. *Ethelbert* set out with a splendid equipage, accompanied by the count: and waited on the borders of the *Mercian* territories, till he received a safe-conduct and an invitation from *Offa*; who

¹ *Angl. Sacr.* l. i. p. 461.² *Brompton*, p. 748. & seq.

was then keeping his court near *Hereford*. When the King of the *East-Angles* arrived there, a council was held to consider in what manner he was to be treated: and as courtiers easily discover, and obsequiously follow, the inclinations of their prince, it was soon resolved to murder him, and seize his dominions. Some writers, thinking a wretched apology better than none at all, are willing to impute *Offa's* conduct to the suggestions of his wife; who, either incensed at slighted love, or moved with envy at the fine appearance made by *Ethelbert's* guards, and the magnificence of his nobility, filled the head of an old and wicked prince with a jealousy of his designs. It is not unlikely, but insinuations of that nature might be thrown out, to procure so infamous a resolution as was taken: but the seizing of the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, and adding it, upon the extinction of the royal family, to the *Mercian* dominions, is an irrefragable proof, that this was the chief view in the murder of *Ethelbert*. To dispatch him in as private a manner, and with as little noise as possible, he was invited to a secret conference with *Offa*, for settling every thing about his marriage: and going thither unattended, was seized in the way by *Guimbert*, and beheaded¹ on May 20, *A. D.* 792. The nobility, that accompanied him, had early notice given them by *Althrida* of this catastrophe: and mounting on horse-back immediately, with the guards which escorted them, made the best of their way to their own country. *Ethelbert's* corpse and head were buried at first, by *Offa's* orders, in an obscure place, on the banks of the *Lugge*: but were afterwards removed to *Fernley*, since called *Hereford*; the cathedral of which city is dedicated to his honour. Thus was the line of the princes of the *East-Angles* extinct, after the kingdom had lasted two hundred and seventeen years.

AN act so full of impiety, cruelty, and horror, perpetrated with all the circumstances of baseness and treachery, could not but give some remorse to the most hardened sinner: but princes had, in those days, so easy a way of commuting for the blackest crimes, that conscience served for a very weak restraint to them, when they could expiate their guilt, and even acquire a character of piety, by some benefactions to religious uses. *Offa* enjoying the spoil of *Ethelbert*, and possessed of the country of the *East-Angles*, which he had usurped, did not think, perhaps was not taught, that restitution was a proper satisfaction for rapine, or a necessary mark and condition of repentance for a crime, of which it was the motive: but chose to give himself an air of regret, in a way that clashed less with his passions, and was more convenient for his affairs; by giving the tenth of his goods or estate to the clergy, and several manors about *Hereford*, to the church of that city. He was removed with his court to *Bath*; where, after a restless night, he is said to have had the vision or dream; discovering to him the place where the bones of *St. Alban*,² the first *British* martyr, were reposed, and admonishing him to build an abbey at *Verulam*. This dream easily passed for a particular favour of heaven to *Offa*; who knew the world well enough to make his advantage of the credulity and superstition of the people: the relicks were accordingly found³ and translated with great solemnity to the place, where the church was afterwards erected in that saint's honour. Nothing was wanting to establish an opinion of *Offa's* sanctity, but his going to *Rome*; a journey, which in that age of ignorance, was deemed as meritorious, as the pilgrimages to *Mecca* are now among the *Mahometans*. This was resolved on in a synod of bishops held at *Verulam*: and *Offa* going thither, made the settlement⁴ of three hundred and sixty-five *mancus's* a year, which he had vowed before, and which coming afterwards to be collected throughout the twenty-

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 792.² *Concil. Magn. Brit.* tom. i. p. 154, & seq.³ *A. D.* 793.⁴ *Math. Paris in. vit. Offæ*, p. 31. *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 461.

three counties, of which the kingdoms of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, then subject to him, consisted, and being paid at the rate of a penny by every family, that had thirty pence annual rent in land, every year, on the first of *August*, the feast of *St. Peter ad vincula*, was thence called *Peter-pence*; though on other occasions it bore the name of *Rome-scot*. *Offa* having received the Pope's absolution, and obtained a bull to confirm whatever privileges and possessions he should think fit, upon his return home, to grant, in a council of his bishops and nobility, to the new monastery he proposed to found, came back to *England*; built, and endowed the abbey of *St. Alban's*: which he just lived to finish; dying after a reign of thirty-nine years, in *A. D.* 794, either on *July* 29, or *August* 10, as the day is differently fixed by *Florence* and the *Saxon Chronicle*.

HE was succeeded by his son *Egfrith*, a prince of great hopes; whose reign was very short: for dying in less than five months, he made way for *Kemulf*; who, two years after¹, invading *Kent*, took *Egbert*, surnamed *Pren*, who seems to have usurped the crown of that country. *Kemulf* is celebrated, by all our old historians, as a wise, as well as a victorious prince; a character scarce consistent with his barbarous treatment of the unfortunate captive, whose hands he suffered to be cut off, and his eyes to be put out, and then carried him in chains to *Mercia*.² *Malmesbury* extols his compassion and clemency in setting *Egbert* afterwards at liberty, upon the day of the dedication of the church of *Winchcombe*; and imputes his invasion and ravaging of *Kent* to an hereditary hatred, derived from *Offa* against the people of that country: but he assigns no reason for this prince's animosity against *Pren* in particular, or for the rage of those whom he allowed to treat him in so shocking a manner. To account for this in some measure, it must be observed, that upon the death of *Alric*,³ the youngest son of *Withred*, who having, in *A. D.* 760⁴, succeeded his brother *Ethelbert*, died after a reign of thirty-four years, the royal line of *Kent* became extinct: and there being no certain heir to the crown, the country was torn in pieces by factions, supporting the different competitors. Of these, *Egbert Pren* prevailing over the rest, got possession of the kingdom: and after two years, imagining that nothing could withstand his power, ventured (as *Malmesbury* says) to attack the *Mercians*; which brought upon him the calamities here mentioned. It was not barely his usurpation, but the tyranny with which he used his power, and some circumstances of his condition, that provoked his adversaries to those cruel indignities. For *Egbert* (whose surname of *Pren*⁵, implies that he was a preacher, one of⁶ those impudent tongue-pads, that *Malmesbury*⁷ speaks of, as affecting tyranny, and usurping the throne of *Kent*) was undoubtedly that renegade clergyman, who is mentioned in Pope *Leo's* epistle⁸ to king *Kemulph*, as having got possession of the kingdom; and is there compared to *Julian* the apostate; having renounced probably his religion, as well as his order, persecuted the orthodox faith, and going to put archbishop *Atbelard* to death for adhering to it, if he had⁹ not saved his life by flying out of the country. It was for these reasons, the Pope thought it proper to subject him to an *anathema*, and to issue out a mandate, admonishing all the princes and people of *Britain*, to drive the usurper out of his kingdom: and it was on the same account that *Egbert* became detested by all the world, and was treated in the cruel manner above-related. That it could be no other than he, appears further from *Cuthred's* being, immediately upon *Egbert's* captivity, made king of *Kent*, and reigning quietly under *Kemulf's* protection¹⁰, till *A. D.* 805,

¹ *Sax. Chr. A. D.* 796. ² *L. i. c. 4.*

³ *Ib. l. i. c. 1.* ⁴ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 760.

⁵ From the *Saxon Pregan*, to preach.

⁶ *Malmesb. l. i. c. 1.* Tunc impudentissimus quisque, cui vel lingua divitias, vel factio terrorem

comparaverat, ad tyrannidem anhelare, regio insigni indignè abuti.

⁷ *Angl. Sacr. tom. i. p. 460.*

⁸ *Malmesb. l. i. c. 4.* ⁹ *Concil. M. Brit. tom. i. p. 159.*

¹⁰ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 805.

when he died, and was succeeded by *Baldred*. This prince, after a precarious government of eighteen years¹, was at last driven out by *Egbert*, reputed the first monarch of *England*: and in him ended the kingdom of *Kent*, after having subsisted three hundred and sixty-eight years. *Kenulf*, equally brave and religious, lived afterwards in peace with all his neighbours; too powerful to be attacked with impunity, and too equitable in his sentiments to attempt the conquest of other princes dominions: but retaining still what *Offa* had unjustly acquired, he was, after² a reign of twenty-four years, slain in an insurrection of the *East-Angles*. *Mercia*, from that time, made a very inconsiderable figure, and produced nothing memorable, but the deplorable fate of her princes: of which *Kenelm*, left a minor by his father *Kenulf*, being murdered the same year by his sister *Quendrada*, who aspired to the crown, was succeeded by his uncle *Ceolulf*; who, in his second year, was driven out by *Beornulf*. This usurper had been little more than two years upon the throne³; when invading the country of the *West-Saxons*, he was routed by *Egbert*, and soon after slain by the *East-Angles*. *Ludecan* succeeding and endeavouring to revenge his death, underwent the same fate, in the same space of time: and with him fell five of the most considerable of the *Mercian* nobility. *Wiglaf*⁴ then mounted the throne: but two years after was defeated, and *Mercia* subdued by *Egbert*. He was indeed soon restored to it by that prince, and possessed it for thirteen years: but always in the nature of a vassal, and on the condition of paying tribute. *Berthulf*, his successor, enjoyed it as long upon the same terms: but being at last forced by the *Danes* to take refuge abroad, was succeeded by *Burrhed*. This prince having married *Ethelfwida*, daughter to king *Ethelwolf*, continued twenty-two years in the government of *Mercia*:⁵ and being then driven out by the same enemy, fled to *Rome*, where he died in the *English* seminary. Such was the fate of the *Mercian* kingdom, after having lasted two hundred and ninety-two years.

XXI. IN the history of the several kingdoms of the heptarchy, it appears evidently, that they flourished in a prosperous condition, and preserved their power and reputation as long as they maintained the succession of the royal family: but when by the monkish taste of devotion, infused into their kings and queens, and putting them on abstaining from the use of the marriage-bed, and on retiring into convents, or by other means, the line of the first founder of the royalty came to be extinct, they fell from that time into decay; were over-run by different factions, supporting the various aspirers to the crown; harassed and weakened daily by intestine broils and civil wars, the never-failing consequences of a disputed title and uncertain succession; and were, in a short time, forced to submit to a state of vassalage under their next powerful neighbour. The kingdom of the *West-Saxons* was the only one that did not labour under this misfortune; into which, however, it was very near falling, when *Egbert* having escaped from the designs, formed by a jealous and cruel prince, to bereave him of his life, restored it to its former lustre: and not only recovered the provinces, which had been dismembred from it, but added all the rest of *England*, possessed by the *Saxons*, to his empire.

THE history of this kingdom hath been already deduced to the reign of *Kenwalch*, a warlike and great prince; whose wars with *Penda* and *Wulfhere*, kings of *Mercia*, have been already mentioned. In these he met with disasters enough to discourage him from pursuing them; which perhaps made him more intent upon enlarging his dominions on the side of the *Britains*: of whom it must in justice

Account of
the kingdom
of the *West-
Saxons*.

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 823.
Hrompton, p. 776.

² *Ib. A. D.* 819.

³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 823.

⁴ *Malmesb. l. i. c. 4. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 825.

⁵ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 874.

be said, that if they lost their country, it was not till after they had done all that the bravest of men could do in its defence for some hundreds of years together, and notwithstanding their want of union among themselves, and inequality in point of force to the *Saxons*, they never quitted any part thereof, till it had been first well moistened with the blood of their enemies. As they were still in possession of *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, *Kenwalch*'s first attempt was upon the *South-east* quarter of the first of those counties, where it lies contiguous to *Wiltshire*; in the borders of which last country he defeated the *Britains* in a battle fought ¹ near *Bradford upon Avon*. The old *Saxon* writers were not fond of preserving the memory of actions, in which their countrymen had the disadvantage: and this perhaps is the reason why nothing is said of the events of this war; till six years after, when *Kenwalch*, probably discouraged by the difficulties of making an impression ² upon *Somerset*, on the side of the forest of *Mendip*, having removed the seat of the war to another quarter, fought the *Britains* at *Penne*, on the edge of *Dorset*; and being victorious, pursued them as far as *Pedderton*, and reduced the *South-west* corner of the country, which lies between the rivers *Ivel* and *Parret*. This ³ prince dying *A. D.* 672, without children, a good deal of confusion happened among the *West-Saxons*, probably not agreeing about the succession of the crown; so that queen *Sexburga* ⁴, relict of the deceased prince, a lady of great prudence and merit, continued to exercise the government till her death; which happened before the end of the year following.

It seems to have been a method generally taken by the *Saxon* kings in this island, to grant large appanages to all the younger branches of the royal family, and to give considerable territories to their sons: who, possessing them either in the way of property or government, had the style of kings frequently given them on that account. Thus *Alchfrid*, the eldest son of *Oswi*, governing *Bernicia* under him, is spoken of by ⁵ *Bede* and others, as in fact, a king in his father's life-time. Thus all *Penda*'s sons, not only *Peada*, whom he indulged with the government of part of his territories whilst he was living, and *Wulfhere*, who succeeded to the sovereignty of the whole, after his elder brother's decease; but *Merewald* and *Mer-cellin*, both younger than the others, are also termed kings, and ⁶ governed their respective territories among the western *Mercians* and the *Girvii*. The same royalty ⁷ is ascribed to *Kenric*, son of *Cerdic*, and *Cwichelm*, son of *Kynegils*, whilst their fathers were living, and to *Cuthbred*, whilst his uncle *Kenwalch* was upon the throne of the *West-Saxons*. The title was communicated, even to the collateral branches of the royal family, as if the *Saxons* of old had made the style of king, as the *Germans* still do those of duke, marquis, and count, common to all the descendants of the male line of a family. For thus *Kenbright*, father of *Ceadwalla*, is styled king ⁸: and *Ceadwalla* himself, before he pretended to the throne, and in the middle of *Kentwin*'s reign, ⁹ assumed the same title in his grant of *Pageham*, and other lands to *Wilfrid*. Hence ¹⁰ *Bede* mentions a king *Osric* in the *Mercian* territories, during the reign of *Ethelred*; and ¹¹ *Wallingford* speaks of *Alcmund Egbert*'s father, reigning at the same time with king *Offa*: and *Baldred* ¹², with other kings of this lesser kind, are named in *Saxon* charters. These princes of the blood ruling only over parts of the larger kingdoms, are generally called *Duces*; and are probably those meant by *Bede* ¹³, when he says, they had the administration of the realm of the *West-Saxons*, after the death of *Kenwalch*. They

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 652. ² *Ib. A. D.* 658.

Fl. H'ig. ³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 672.

Bede, l. iv. c. 12. ⁵ *Ib.* l. iv. c. 25.

im. Dim. De gest. Regum, p. 89. *Hist. Eliens.*

l. p. 240.

⁷ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 519, 626, 636, 639.

⁸ *Ib. A. D.* 661.

⁹ *Evidentia Eccl. Cant.*

in *Decem Scriptores*, p. 2207.

¹⁰ *L.* iv. c. 23.

¹¹ *Inter Vigiinti Scriptores*, p. 530, 531.

¹² *Malmesb. ib.* p. 308, 312.

¹³ *L.* iv. c. 12.

seen

seem to have governed in their respective districts; whilst *Sexburga* had the superintendence of the whole, or at least of that part of the realm, which had been under the immediate care of her husband¹: but after two years, *Æscwin*, great grandson to *Cuthgils*, uncle to *Kenwalch*, is said to have assumed the crown, or rather to have divided the government of the kingdom with *Kentwin*; who was brother to the late king *Kenwalch*, and after *Æscwin*'s death, in *A. D.* 676, enjoyed it alone.

KENTWIN pursued his brother's measures for reducing the *Britains*: and not being diverted by any other enemy, did it with such success, that he marched with his troops as far² as the *Bristol* channel, and added a good part of *Somerset* to his dominions. *Ceadwalla*, to whom, after reigning alone for nine years, he left his crown³, was hindered from improving his predecessor's conquests by the opposition he found at his entrance upon the government; the faction against him being so powerful, that he was forced to quit the country and take refuge in the forest of *Andredswald* in *Suffex*. But being extremely beloved by the military part of the nation, they repaired to him in such numbers during his exile, that he was soon in a condition of recovering his kingdom, and of re-uniting to it some provinces, which had belonged to it formerly. These were the country of the *Meanuari* in *Hants* and the isle of *Wight*; which having about twenty four years before been conquered by *Wulfhere* king of *Mercia*, were given by that prince to *Edilwalch* king of the *South-Saxons*, in whose hands they still remained. There being a dispute at this time in *Kent*⁴ about the right of the crown, between *Eadric* eldest son of the late king *Egbert*, and his uncle *Lothair*, who had got possession of it during his nephew's minority; *Edilwalch* had embarked in the young prince's quarrel, and furnished him with an army, to try the fortune of a battle with *Lothair*; who being mortally wounded in⁵ the action, *Eadric* became upon his death master of the kingdom. *Edilwalch* being thus engaged in the *Kentish* war, *Ceadwalla* judged the opportunity to be favourable, as well for recovering the above mentioned territories, as for making a conquest of *Suffex*, which his ancestors had in vain attempted. He marched with an army into those parts so suddenly, that *Edilwalch* was surprized and slain: leaving two sons very young; who falling into the hands of the conqueror, were ordered to be put to death, that the royal family of the *South-Saxons* might be utterly extinguished. *Ceadwalla* lay ill of⁶ the wounds he received in the battle with *Edilwalch*, at the time he gave these cruel orders; which the abbot of *Retford* pressed him in vain to revoke; being able to prevail only for a small respite of their execution, till the children were baptized. The country of the *South-Saxons* was cruelly ravaged after this action: till *Berethun* and *Audbun*, two of their chief nobility, putting themselves at the head of the people, forced *Ceadwalla* to retire out of their territories: but it was only to return the year following with a greater force, which enabled him to beat and slay *Berethun* in battle, and to over-run the whole country in a more horrible manner. He seems to have reduced it entirely; the province being from this time without any bishop of its own, and subject to the see of *Winchester*: so that here we may fix the ruin of the *South-Saxon* kingdom, after it had subsisted about an hundred and ninety six years.

EDRIC, king of *Kent*, dying about a year and an half after he had recovered the crown, left his kingdom full of factions and troubles; to which his weak government perhaps had contributed. *Ceadwalla* taking advantage thereof, passed thither

¹ *Afferii Annales, Chr. Sax. and Flor. IVig. Vit. Adhelmi*, p. 11.

⁴ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 26.

An. 674, 676. *Malmesb.* l. i. c. 2.

⁵ *Flor. IVig.*

⁶ *Bede*, l. iv. c. 15, 16.

² *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 681. *Vit. Adelmi in Ang. Malmesb.* l. i. c. 2. *Brompton*, p. 799, 800.

Sacr. t. ii. p. 14.

³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 685.

from *Suffex*: and laid all the country waste, without any opposition¹. His brother *Moll*, who had been with him in this expedition, tempted by the greatness of the booty and easiness of the acquisition, made the next year another irruption into the country, with a body of forces: but finding no shew of resistance, and roving about with a small party of twelve men, at a distance from the main body of his army, he was invested by the *Kentish* men in an house², and burnt with all his attendants. *Ceadwalla*, enraged at his brother's death, entered *Kent*: and destroyed all before him with fire and sword; till wearied with vengeance, he began to lay his cruelties to heart, and in a fit of repentance made some grants to the see of *Canterbury* and the abbey of *Malmesbury*, and took a resolution of going to *Rome*, where he was baptized on *Easter-Eve*, and died on *April 20*, *A. D.* 689. At his departure from *England*, he resigned the crown to his cousin *Ina*: who having settled the affairs of his own kingdom, advanced about five years after⁴ with a mighty army into *Kent*, in order to take further vengeance for the death of *Moll*. The country was now free from its intestine broils, and happy under the government of their rightful king *Witbred*, son of *Egbert*, and brother to *Edric*, a wise and good prince; who having quelled the rebellion of *Webbeard* (an usurper that disputed the crown with him) found means to pacify *Ina* with a sum of money, which the *Saxon chronicle* computes at 30000 *l.* and *Florence* at 3750, by way of satisfaction for the death of his cousin⁵.

⁶ *INA* who was a prince of great moderation, prudence, and religion, as well as fortitude, making peace with *Witbred* upon his submission, turned his arms against the *Britains*: and by his victory over *Gereint*⁷, king of *Cornwall*, seems to have compleated the conquest of *Somerset*. From a circumstance of this battle, in which *Hygbald*, one of the chief *Saxon* generals was slain, it appears to have been obstinately fought; though the *Britains*⁸ being at last defeated, were forced either to take refuge in wild craggy places, or submit to the yoke of the conqueror. It is very probable, that he gave good terms to the chieftains, of their clans, and allowed them to retain a considerable part of their lands and territories; because in *Athelstan's*⁹ charter to *Malmesbury*, dated at *Dorchester*, *A. D.* 938, and signed by sixteen bishops, there appear the subscriptions of no *Saxon* nobleman, but only of four *subreguli*, whose names, *Owen*, *Hewell*, *Morcant*, and *Judual*, shew them to be *British*; a circumstance, which is not found in any other *Saxon* charter. This¹⁰ gives some colour of probability to what is said in the *Auctarium* at the end of the laws of *Edward the confessor*, about the intermarriages between the *Britains* and *Saxons*: which *Ina*, pursuant to the advice of his great council, took care to encourage, for the better establishing an union and friendship between his subjects of those different nations. There was likewise for that purpose a sur-

¹ *Brompton*, p. 741.

² *Chr. A. D.* 687.

³ *Evidenc. Eccl. Cant.* p. 2208. *Vit. Adhelmi*, p. 25.

⁴ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 694.

⁵ It appears from the laws of *Athelstan* that, according to the received valuation, the fine paid for the death of a king was 30000 *thrymsa*^a; a large sum in those days, and probably more than *Kent*, in its exhausted condition after some years of civil wars and foreign ravages, was able to advance. This renders it not unlikely that the value thereof was made up in land, and that some part of that country, perhaps where it borders upon *Suffex*, was given up to *Ina*; who seems to have granted it to his brother *Ingild* by way of appanage; the terri-

tories thus given to younger branches of the royal family being generally taken out of conquered countries. *Ingild* probably enjoyed the title of king over this territory; at least it is certain that the title was born, and a considerable territory in *Kent* possessed, by king *Alchmond*, great grandson to this prince^b, and father to *Egbert*, the first monarch of *England*.

⁶ *Vit. Adhelmi*, p. 12. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 710.

⁷ This was an usual name to the princes of that country.

⁸ *Vit. Adhelm.* p. 14.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 32.

¹⁰ *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 74.

^a A *thrymsa* was three shillings *Saxon* money. p. 2211.

^b See *Sax. Chron. A. D.* 724. *Evidentia Eccl. Cant. inter Decem Scriptum.*

ther provision made by his laws; in which the *Britains* are expressly mentioned and comprehended; this being the first time, that they appear to be allowed the benefit of any of the *Saxon* laws and privileges.

INA erected a strong castle at *Taunton* to secure his conquests: but when the country had been for some time pacified, it was demolished; and the ¹ manor given to the church of *Winchester*. He knew very well what effect religion hath on the minds of men, and what troubles any differences in the acts of it may produce on some occasions: and thinking it better that men should be convinced by reason, than driven by force, to a conformity, got the learned ² *Aldhelm* to write a treatise to convince the *Britains* of their error in keeping *Easter*. This book, which was dedicated to *Gercint*, king of the *Cornish Britains*,³ had a great success in bringing them to conform in that point to the *Saxon* churches: and the see of the *West-Saxons* being in *A. D.* 705 divided into two dioceses⁴, *Aldhelm* was made bishop of *Sherbourne*, lying on the borders of *Somerset* (which country⁴ had hitherto been subject to the *British* bishop of *Congresbury*) to compleat by his daily instructions the work which his writings had so well begun. He now founded a monastery at that see, as he had done before at *Malmesbury*, *Bradford*, and *Frome*, in proportion as the *Saxon* conquests advanced in that country. *Ina* was a benefactor to all these foundations, and probably followed the method, observed by the *Northumbrian* princes, of assigning to the *Saxon* clergy and religious, all the lands and revenues, which had been enjoyed by the *British*. This at least he did in the endowment of the great abbey of *Glastenbury*, which he founded; and confirmed all the grants made in former days by the *British* princes; among whom the old church or convent of that place had been held in the highest veneration.

INA's ⁵ quarrel with *Ceolred* king of *Mercia* was terminated (as before related) by a single battle; in which neither party could pretend to victory; so that he had no foreign enemy, besides the *Britains*, to interrupt the quiet of his reign: the time of which he employed chiefly in cultivating the arts of peace, and in providing by wholesome laws and regulations for the good conduct and government of his people. The custom however, observed among the *West-Saxons* from the time of *Cerdic*, who gave the *Isle of Wight* ⁶ to his nephews, of granting large territories by way of appanage to the younger branches of the royal family, seems to have been the occasion of some troubles in his kingdom, after the decease of his brother *Ingild*, in *A. D.* 718. ⁷ Whether *Ina*, having no sons of his own, shewed too great a regard to *Ethelbald*, who was brother to his queen *Ethelburga*, but seems, though of *Cerdic's* line, to be a remoter prince of the blood than some others; or had made any declaration in his favour touching the succession of the crown, the princes, whose proximity of blood gave them better pretensions to it, were alarmed with the apprehensions of being defeated of what they claimed as their right, and ⁸ broke out into insurrections. The sons of the reigning king, and the presumptive heirs of the crown, were usually distinguished by the style of ⁹ *Clito* or *Ætheling*: and three years after *Ingild's* death, we find *Kineulf Clito* slain by *Ina*, to whom he was perhaps a nephew by *Ingild* or some other brother. This prince's death did not put an end to all commotions; for the very next year ¹⁰, another was raised by *Ealdbricht*, who though mentioned at first without that addition to his name, is afterwards honoured also with the title of *Clito*. This prince

¹ *Annal. Hinton.* p. 289.

p. 15. *Bede*, l. v. c. 18.

p. 20, 21.

² *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 553.

³ *Chr. Sax.* *A. D.* 715.

⁴ *Vit. Aldhelmi,*

⁵ *Vit. Aldhelmi.*

⁶ *Chr. Sax.*

A. D. 534.

⁷ *Flor. wig.*

⁸ *Du Fresnes Gloss.* v. CLITO.

⁹ *An.* 722, 725.

¹⁰ *Chr. Sax.*

Il. *A. D.* 721.

¹¹ *Chr. Sax.*

began his insurrection in the lately conquered province of *Somerſet*: but being routed near *Taunton*, fled to *Suffex*; which though it had been reduced earlier than the other, was not yet ſufficiently ſettled in its ſubjection; hoping to ſtand his ground in the faſtneſſes of that country. The *South-Saxons* took up arms in his favour; and *Ina* following him thither, ſeveral battles enſued: but after the war had been carried on three years, they were at laſt defeated in an action; which by the death of *Ealdbright*, who was ſlain in it, proved deciſive. This experience of the miſchiefs and civil wars, inevitably flowing from a breach in the true and natural order of the ſucceſſion, did not leſſen either *Ina*'s regard to *Ethelhard* or his wife's influence in her brother's behalf; nor alter the diſpoſition he propoſed to make in his favour. *Ina*, governed by his wife, and ſacrificing the peace and happineſs of his people to her paſſions and affection¹, put the government of the realm into the hands of this prince; when, agreeable to the modiſh devotion of the age, he quitted *England* with his queen, and retired to *Rome*: where he died ſome years after in a monaſtery, perhaps in the *Engliſh* ſeminary; to which he was a great benefactor, and² probably had the merit of being its original founder.

ETHELHARD taking poſſeſſion of the throne, found ſtill a *Clito* to diſpute it with him: this was *Oſwald*, ſecond couſin to the late kings *Ceadwalla* and *Ina*; they being deſcended in the ſame degree from *Cedda*, *Ceolwald*, and *Cynebald*, all three younger brothers to king *Cynegils*. *Oſwald* was defeated in battle: ³ and dying two years after, *Ethelhard* met with no other diſturbance till his death; which happening⁴ *A. D.* 741, he was ſucceeded by his couſin *Cuthred*. This prince was continually at war, all the fourteen years of his reign, either with *Ethelbald*, king of *Mercia*, or with the *Britains*: but on what occaſion his ſon⁵ *Kynric Clito* was ſlain, is uncertain; though⁶ *Brompton* imputes it to a too great eagerneſs for war, and ſays, it happened in a ſedition of the ſoldiery. That miſfortune was, in about two years, followed by an insurrection among the *Weſt-Saxons*, headed by one of their chief nobility *Ædelhun*; a man of great military ſkill, high ſpirit, and intrepid courage. This brave and experienced General met *Cuthred* in the field with a body of forces, far unequal to the king's in number, but ſo animated by the courage and conduct of their commander, that the fate of the battle was long doubtful, and even going to declare in his favour; when *Ædelhun* being unluckily ran through the body, his men were diſpirited, and left the field to *Cuthred*. It doth not appear, whether this nobleman fought his own quarrel, or that of ſome prince of the blood, who claimed the crown: but in either caſe, it was not the *Saxon* cuſtom, in thoſe days, to carry their reſentments farther than the place of battle; which was followed with no executions, unleſs there was ſome heinous crime to be puniſhed, beſides an insurrection. The fate of the day ſeems then to have buried all animosities, like that of a modern duel, according to the received rules of honour; one contending party being ſatiſfied, and the other acquieſcing in a deciſion, which they equally aſcribed to providence. *Ædelhun* was pardoned: and lived to make ample amends to the victor, for his clemency and wiſdom in ſaving the life of a great man, capable of doing eminent ſervices to his prince and country.

Two years after this action⁷, *Ethelbald*, king of *Mercia*, who was perpetually haraſſing the *Weſt-Saxon* territories, invaded *Oxfordſhire* with a mighty army, raiſed out of his own and the tributary kingdoms of *Kent*, *Effex*, and the *East-Angles*, and waſted all the country as far as *Burford*. There *Cuthred*, encouraged by *Ædelhun*, and depending on his conduct, met him with an army inferior in point of

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 728.² *Angl. Sacr.* i. 202.³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 730.⁴ *Ib. A. D.* 741.⁵ *Ib. A. D.* 748.⁶ *P.* 768.⁷ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 752. *Brompton*, p. 769.

numbers, but a match for any enemy under such a General. *Ædelbun* began the battle with an act of vigour, proper to inspire his men with hopes and resolution; for advancing before their ranks, bearing the *West-Saxon* standard, a *golden dragon*, in his hand, he challenged the standard-bearer of the *Mercians*; who seems to have declined the combat. The armies soon joined, and a bloody battle ensued with great slaughter on both sides: yet none thought of retiring; both parties seeming determined either to die or conquer. It was long doubtful to which side the victory would incline, but the glory of the day was reserved for *Ædelbun*; who with his tremendous battle-axe, which no armour could resist, pierced the *Mercian* troops like a thunderbolt, making a terrible havock among them, and opening a way wherever he charged. *Ethelbald*, on his side, had fought with great courage, but his pride was now to be humbled: and meeting with *Ædelbun*, in the heat of the action, he was attacked by him with so much fury, that his heart failing, he was the first man of his army that fled, and quitted the field to the enemy. His troops had hitherto stood their ground with great resolution: but seeing their king turn his back, they soon followed his example. Thus ended an action, which gained the brave *Ædelbun* immortal honour, and covered the arrogant *Ethelbald* with an indelible mark of reproach; the shame of which made him, three years after, throw away his life in the battle of *Seggswold*¹.

CUTHRED dying two years after this victory at *Burford*², was succeeded by his cousin *Sigebert*, a young, headstrong, violent, and cruel prince; incapable of receiving advice, or of being corrected by any experience. Proud of his predecessors actions, without any merit of his own, he treated all the world with insupportable haughtiness, oppression, and indignities; being extravagant in his conduct, and arbitrary in all his proceedings, without the least regard to law, justice, or equity. The people suffering daily from his inhumanity, and the nobility from his insolence, he had not governed in this manner above a year, before he was driven out by *Kineulf*; a prince of the same family, who dispossessed him of all the *West-Saxon* dominions, except *Hampshire*, which seems to have been governed at that time by duke *Cumbran*. This nobleman afforded him a refuge in that province: and adhering firmly to his interests, endeavoured to make him sensible of the mistakes of his conduct, by a free representation, as well of the grievances of the nation, as of the consequences which his illegal, oppressive, and cruel measures had produced. But pride is neither to be obliged nor advised: *Cumbran* had merited as much as a subject can do of a king, by the proofs he had given of his singular loyalty in a time of general defection; and was absolutely necessary to him in the distressed situation of his affairs; yet notwithstanding his actual services, and those which might still be expected from him, he was put to death by a worthless and ingrateful prince for this remonstrance, the pure effect of his rare attachment and fidelity. This was one of those crimes which carry their own punishment with them: *Sigebert*, forsaken by every body that had as yet followed his fortune, was forced to fly from *Hampshire* into the wilds of *Andredswald*, where he lurked for a short time; but being discovered by a swineherd, who looked after *Cumbran's* hogs, which had pastnage in that forest, was killed by him in revenge of his master's murder.

KINEULF, possessed of all the *West-Saxon* territories, employed his arms³, as his predecessors *Ethelbald* and *Cuthred* had done, against the *Cornish Britains*, whom he defeated in several engagements. He was a warlike and great prince, very successful, during the first twenty years of his reign, in all his enterprizes: and having, in all that time, no enemy upon his hands but those *Britains*, it is very likely that

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D. 755.*² *Ib. A. D. 754, 755.*³ *Ib. A. D. 755.*

he made himself master of a great part of *Devon*, to the north of *Dartmore*. The latter part of his reign was less fortunate, losing all his dominions north of the *Thames* (as above related) to *Offa*, and being disturbed in the enjoyment of the rest by the *Clito Kynchard*, brother to his predecessor *Sigebert*. This prince of the blood was forced to fly into exile: but kept with a small party of followers hovering near the borders of the kingdom, and waiting an opportunity of having his revenge on *Kineulf*; which he found at last, by means of an amour the king had with a fair damoysel, who lived at *Merton* in *Surrey*. *Kineulf* going with a few attendants to pass a night with his mistress, *Kynchard* had notice thereof; and investing the house with his men, got to the chamber where the king lay, before any of his retinue took the alarm. *Kineulf* running hastily to his arms, defended the door with great bravery; till seeing *Kynchard* among the assailants, rage made him forget the precautions necessary for his own safety: and falling out into the midst of his enemies, he attacked and wounded his adversary; but fell himself, over-powered by numbers. The king's attendants that were in the house, hearing the noise, ran to the place, with what came next to hand, to defend his person, or revenge his death: and finding they were too late for the first, fell upon *Kynchard*, who tried in vain, with assurances of life and promises of rewards, to draw them over to his party. They rejected all his offers with indignation: but being too few to contend with his numbers, they were slain every man; except a *British* hostage, who likewise was grievously wounded. The nobility, that either dwelt in the neighbourhood, or had been left at *Kingston*, a royal seat in that age, hearing in the morning of what had passed, mounted on horseback with their followers, and coming to *Merton*, found the house barred and garrisoned by the regicides. *Kynchard* tempted them with promises of continuing to them their estates, manors, privileges, and honours, if they would put him upon the throne; intimating withal, that he had with him several of their relations, who were resolved to run his fortune. Duke *Osric*, who had probably the government of that country, and the *Thanes* that were with him, replying, that they had no relation so dear to them as their lord; and that they would never obey his murderers, did yet offer to let such of them, as would desert *Kynchard*, depart in safety. This being likewise refused by the assassins, who declared themselves determined to defend *Kynchard* to the last drop of their blood, they were all slain with him; except a youth, who was sorely wounded, but had his life spared, because he was *Osric's* godson. Such was the end of *Kineulf*, after a reign of thirty-one years: he was buried at *Winchester*, as *Kynchard* was at *Axe-minster*; a circumstance which shews that part of *Devon* to be at this time in the hands of the *West-Saxons*.

BRIGHTRIC then mounted the throne¹, being descended from *Cerdic*, as all his predecessors since *Ina* were, but not by the eldest line, nor sprung of *Kenric*, *Ceanlin*, and *Cutbwin*; from whom all the rest of the *West-Saxons* kings, down to *Ina*, derived their descent. *Ingild*, brother to this last named prince, dying before him, had left a son named *Eoppa*; who was probably a minor when *Ina* took the fatal step of resigning his crown to *Ethelbald*, and had issue *Eata*, father to king *Alchmond*. This prince ruled over a territory in the eastern extremity of the *West-Saxon* dominions; and dying not long after *Brightric* came to the crown², left a son named *Egbert*, a young prince of great hopes; who being educated among the nobility of the country, grew extremely popular. He was the only heir left of the royal family: and having, by his descent from an elder line, a better right to the crown than *Brightric*, this last grew extremely jealous of him; and thought it necessary to strengthen himself by a marriage³ with *Eadburga*, daughter to *Offa*,

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 784.² *IV. Malmsh.* l. i. c. 2. and l. ii. c. 1.³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 787.

king of *Mercia*. This alliance did not remove his fears, nor alter the designs he had formed against *Egbert's* life; though it deprived the young prince of all hopes of refuge in *England*, and forced him to fly to *France* for protection. There he found an asylum in the court of the wisest and greatest monarch of the age; a court of virtue, politeness, and honour; where under the eye and in the armies of *Charles the great*, he improved himself in all points of knowledge: and became master of those talents and accomplishments, which fitted him for empire, and rendered him the greatest king which *England* had yet produced.

EADBURGA had qualities agreeable to her base original by the mother's side¹, being illegitimate: she was wanton, false, insolent, and cruel; charging continually some or other of the nobility to her husband with feigned crimes, in order to have them put to death; and if she could not make him the tool of her malice, finding means to take them off by poison. There was a young nobleman², a great favourite of *Brightric*, against whom she conceived a violent animosity, and having no crime to accuse him of, with any colour or likelihood of success, she had recourse as usual to the fatal cup: which indeed executed what she proposed, but destroyed also her husband; who chanced to taste of it, and to whom she designed no mischief. She had made herself too odious to stay in *England*: and flying to *France*, was there put at first into a monastery, but being expelled thence for her incontinency, lived in a very indigent way, and died miserably. *Egbert*³ was, upon *Brightric's* death, sent for by the nobility to take the crown of the *West-Saxons*: but did not arrive time enough to prevent all the inconveniencies of an *interregnum*; there being, on the very day of his arrival, a battle fought at *Kemesford*, on the *Glocestershire* side of the *Thames*, on the borders of *Wilts*, between the governors of those two counties; in which both the Generals were slain, and the *Wiltshire* men had the victory.

¹ *Brompton*, p. 749, 750. *Asser. Menev. De gestis Alfredi.* ² *M. Westm.* ³ *Chr. Sax. A. D. 800.*



A

GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Containing an Account of the Affairs of ENGLAND,
from the Reign of *Egbert* to the *Norman* Conquest.

Egbert reduced all the kingdoms of the Saxons.

I. **E**GBERT, having got possession of the throne of his ancestors, lived in peace with his *Saxon* neighbours; but employed his military skill to enlarge his territories at the expence of the *Cornish Britains*, with whom he had frequent engagements, and in a few years reduced *Exeter*¹, with all the county of *Devon*. In the year 823, he invaded *Cornwall*, and advancing into the country as far as *Camelford*, routed the *Britains* in a bloody battle; memorials whereof are found at this day in the² horse harness of brass, and the pieces of armour, which are turned up in the fields about that town by husbandmen as they are ploughing. This series of success raised the envy or jealousy of *Bernulf* king of *Mercia*; who fearing perhaps that *Egbert* might grow too powerful, and seeing him engaged in a war at the farthest western part of his dominions, seized an opportunity that appeared favourable for invading the eastern part of the *West-Saxon* territories, bordering upon *Mercia*. This invasion prevented *Egbert's* improving his victory in *Cornwall*, and obliged him to march back in all haste to oppose the *Mercian*. The two armies met at *Ellandun*, now *Wilton*: and *Egbert* obtaining a compleat victory, made a terrible slaughter of the enemy; who being at a considerable distance from their own country, had no place of strength to favour their retreat.

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D. 813, 823.*

² *Camden in Cornwall.*

THIS was a great blow to the *Mercian* kingdom, and *Egbert* resolved to take EGBERT
 vengeance on a faithless enemy; who had, without any provocation, and in a
 time of settled peace, invaded his territories. He saw now a fair opportunity
 offered him, not only of recovering the provinces wrested by *Offa* forty eight years
 before from the *West-Saxons* during the usurpation of *Kineulf*, but of entirely
 breaking the *Mercian* power, which was the only considerable obstacle to his
 reducing all the parts of the *Saxon* heptarchy under his own dominion. The old
 line of their kings being extinct; *Mercia* was torn in pieces by factions of the
 nobility, prevailing over one another by turns, and the strongest of them placing
 a prince upon an unquiet throne: which he held very precariously, when there
 was no principle flowing from right to make the subject obey out of conscience,
 and the measures he was forced to take for crushing the party which had opposed
 his succession, necessarily perpetuated discontents and kept up a spirit of sedition.
 A kingdom, however great in its natural strength, cannot long stand, when di-
 vided against itself: it may expire perhaps with stronger convulsions than a
 weaker; but its ruin is unavoidable, unless some remedy be found to remove the
 original cause of its divisions. None such appeared in the case of the *Mercian*
 kingdom; the chief power of which, in its divided situation, did not consist so
 much in the reality, as in the opinion, of its strength; entertained in consequence
 of the great figure made by *Offa* and his predecessors. It now subsisted only in
 virtue of its former reputation, and for want of being attacked at home; which
 alone would betray its weakness: whilst it made a shift to keep up an exterior
 shew of power by foreign wars against the *Welsh*, disabled by their own intestine
 broils from making any considerable opposition. The chief advantages enjoyed
 by the kings of *Mercia*, were derived from their tributary provinces; which not
 embarking in the quarrels for the crown, followed the fate of the dispute: and
 submitting always to the prince reigning, paid him their usual tribute, and sup-
 plied him with auxiliary forces upon all occasions. But this power was likewise
 precarious, as well because of the horrible oppressions which those provinces suf-
 fered under the *Mercian* government, as because the people had either no opinion
 of the dependant kings put over them by their oppressors; or if they had no
 king, which was the case of the *East-Angles*, they bore a mortal hatred to the
Mercians, for extinguishing the race of their lawful princes. Thus ready to em-
 brace any opportunity of throwing off the *Mercian* yoke, they were charmed with
 the character of *Egbert*; the wisdom and lenity of whose administration rendering
 all his own subjects happy, inspired into them a desire of coming likewise under
 his government.

In these circumstances *Egbert* thought it proper to suspend his operations
 against the *Cornish Britains*, who were not to be subdued without being in a
 manner exterminated; and to turn his arms against the *Mercians* and other *Saxons*,
 from whom he might reasonably expect a readier submission. Whilst he fell
 upon *Oxfordshire*¹ and the adjoining county of *Gloucester*, which had been for-
 merly part of the *West-Saxon* territories, and were now easily recovered, he sent
 his son *Ethelwolf* with bishop *Ealhstan* and *Wulfbeard*, a general in whom he
 much confided, with an army to reduce *Kent*; which they soon did, forcing
 king *Baldred*, the *Mercian* deputy, to fly the country². The *East-Saxons*, and
 the part of *Surrey* belonging either to their or the *Mercian* kingdom, submitted
 as readily; so easily are conquests made over a people discontented with their
 government. The *East-Angles* lying at a greater distance, sent ambassadors to
 offer their submission, and to desire *Egbert's* protection and assistance against the

¹ *Paroch. Ant.* p. 33.² *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 823.

EGBERT. *Mercians*; who were now attacked on all sides, and deprived of those auxiliaries, which used to make a great part of the force of their armies. What weakened them exceedingly, was in the same degree an accession of strength to *Egbert*; who in the quarter of *Mercia*, which he invaded, pushed on his conquests with little opposition: whilst *Bernulf* drew off the best of his forces to oppose the *East-Angles*; imagining that as they lay at too great a distance from *Egbert* to be speedily reinforced by his succours, he could more easily quell a sudden insurrection among them, than make head against a great king, who perfectly understood the art of war, at the head of a veteran army used to victory. But he soon found his mistake: the *Mercians* were now to atone, by their own ruin, for their murder of *Ethelbert*, and their seizing of his kingdom; and the *East-Angles* were designed by providence to be the principal instrument of their destruction. They had four years before defeated and slain his predecessor *Kenulf* in battle; *Bernulf* had now in his turn the same fate; and his successor *Ludecan* was two years after killed likewise by the same people, with a great slaughter of his men, and of five of his chief nobility, governors of provinces. Such were the consequences of the perfidy of *Offa*, and the heavy oppressions of the *Mercian* government.

EGBERT was all this while making his advantage of these disasters, and of the troubles, which, as the royal line was extinct, the election of new kings necessarily occasioned among the *Mercians*; and subduing one province after another, till in the space of four years he had reduced all *Mercia* ¹ as far as the *Humber*. *Wiglaf*, who had mounted the throne upon the death of *Ludecan*, was now reduced to the condition of a private man, if not of an exile: but after he had been hid four months in his cousin *Etheldrida's* cell at *Croyland*, ² *Egbert* either pitying his misfortunes, or thinking fit for a time to humour a people, easily imposed on by forms, and apt to mistake them for realities, with some shew of their ancient constitution, and to indulge the haughty *Mercians* with the appearance of a king of their own, did in the year following restore him his title; giving him the government of the greatest part of the *Mercian* territories, which from that time he held as a tributary and vassal. *Egbert*, having thus provided for the quiet of *Mercia*, was at liberty to extend his conquests on the side of the *Welsh Britains* and *Northumbrians*; neither of which nations were in a condition to make much resistance. The latter had, for a century past, been involved in civil wars and continual disputes for the crown, and the country had been all that time a miserable scene of usurpation, blood, and confusion; so that as soon as *Egbert* had passed the *Humber* and advanced with his army to *Dore* in *Yorkshire*, the *Northumbrians* met him and submitted to be his subjects. Thus were all the provinces of the heptarchy united at last, in *A. D.* 823, under one monarch, and formed, what was afterwards styled the kingdom of *England*.

OFFA's ditch had hitherto been the boundary between *Wales* and the *Saxon* dominions: and the *Welsh* had bravely maintained their country against all the invasions of the *Mercians*; but their own divisions rendered them unable to cope with *Egbert*. Their late king *Conan Tindaethwy*, prince of *Gwyneth* and sovereign of the rest of *Wales*, had been all his reign engaged in war with his younger brother *Howell* ³, who claimed *Anglesey*, as his share of their father's inheritance, according to the custom of *Gavelkind*; which affording continual occasions of unnatural quarrels between brethren, proved the ruin of the great families and the ancient nobility of *Wales*. He had just before his death got the better of *Howell*

¹ *Ib.* *A. D.* 827.

² *Ingulf.*

³ *Powell's Hist. of Wales*, p. 21, &c.

and driven him out of *Anglesey*: but did not live long enough after that success EGBERT,
 to establish his own authority over the great lords, among whom the country was
 cantoned; and who having been long without any settled government, ruled
 their respective vassals and territories like so many independant princes. *Conan*
 leaving only a daughter, named *Esfylth*, and married to *Merwyn Vrych*, a nobleman
 of an ancient family but no great power, these princes had very little influence
 over their vassals; when in the beginning of their reign *Egbert* invading *Wales*,
 over-ran all the country as far as *Snowdon*, and took possession of the hundred of
Rhyvonioc in *Denbighshire*. *Egbert*, victorious in all places, and ruling without a
 rival or disturbance over all the *English*, seemed to have nothing more to do, but
 to enjoy the pleasure of his conquests: when the quiet of his reign was inter-
 rupted by the descents and depredations of a new enemy from abroad, whose forces
 were composed of *Danes* and other northern people.

WHEN *Charles the great* had, after thirty years war, and decimating the people
 for their frequent insurrections, entirely subdued the *old Saxons* in *Germany*, the
 bravest of the nation, who would not submit to the yoke of servitude, were forced
 to quit the country; and retired to the peninsula of *Jutland* and the neighbouring
 parts of *Scandinavia*. The inhabitants of those countries, which abounded with
 naval stores of all kinds, had long exercised themselves in piracy: it was an ho-
 nourable profession among a people, who made rapine and arms their sole glory;
 their kings did not think it below their dignity, and such as had a chief command in
 any of their fleets or ships thought themselves great enough to assume the same title.
 This additional colony coming into a country already well stocked with inhabitants,
 crowded it too much: and having habituated themselves for a while to a sea-faring
 life and to naval affairs, thought it time to look out for another settlement, in a more
 fruitful soil and a better climate. Many chieftains of clans in *Denmark* and *Nor-*
way entered into the same view; and all these joining together, fitted out navies:
 by the benefit whereof they landed in what maritime countries they pleased, but
 more frequently in the *French* territories, than in any other; being particularly in-
 censed against that nation, where they passed under the general name of *Normans*.
 They were known in *England* by that of *Danes*, at least after some *Danish* kings
 had appeared at their head; for before they seem only to have been termed in ge-
 neral, *Pagans*. The first time they were seen in this island, was in *A. D.* ¹ 787,
 when they came to descry the country, and killed one of the king's officers, who
 would have obliged them to come before the governor of the county, to give an
 account of themselves and their designs. Six years after, they landed and com-
 mitted some depredations on the coasts of *Northumberland*; but made no attempt
 afterwards till the thirty-second year of *Egbert* ², when they wasted the *Isle of*
Skepy, and retired before they were attacked. In the year following, they returned
 with a fleet of thirty-five ships, landing at *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*, where *Eg-*
bert fought them. But though he killed great numbers of them, he could neither
 prevent their encampment, nor hinder their retreat. In two years more ³, they
 came again with a great naval armament, and landing in *Cornwall*, were joined by
 the *Britains*: but as they advanced towards the borders of *Devon*, in order to enter
 the *English* territories, *Egbert* met them at *Hengsdow-hill*, near *Kellington*; and
 routing their united forces, cut almost the whole body to pieces. This great
 prince ⁴ dying the year following (or rather in *A. D.* 838, since he was present at
 the council of *Kingston* held this year) was succeeded by his son *Ethelwolf*; who
 putting the conquered kingdoms of *Kent*, the *East* and *South-Saxons*, under his

¹ *Chr. Sax.* 787, &c.
 t. ii. p. 179.

² *ib.* *A. D.* 832, 833.

³ *ib.* *A. D.* 835, 836.

⁴ *Concil. M. Brit.*

ETHELWOLF eldest son *Atbelstan*¹, kept the rest of his father's dominions, with the sovereignty of the whole, to himself.

*Ethelwolf's
wars; and
journey to
Rome.*

II. THIS prince, less active and warlike than his father, was not very fit to struggle with difficulties, and conduct the affairs of a kingdom attacked in every quarter by the *Danes*; who left no part of the coast of *England* uninvaded, from the north of *Lincolnshire* to the western extremity of *Devon*. He had the misfortune, in the beginning of his reign², to lose *Wulfbeard*, the ablest of his Generals; whose death happened soon after a great victory he had gained over a numerous body of those pirates, who had landed in his government of *Hampshire*. Not a year passed without several engagements in one country or other; the *Danes* still re-imbarking when they found opposition in any place, and landing in some other; where they expected to find less force, or the country less prepared for resistance. These battles were generally fought on the *English* side by the forces of each single county; for though the whole nation was kept in a continual alarm, the *Danes* fell so suddenly upon the particular quarter they proposed to ravage, and made such terrible havock there, that the inhabitants had not patience to wait the coming up of fresh supplies. It would be too tedious to specify the several actions that passed; especially since the enemy did not appear to have any view but of plunder, till *A. D.* 851³, when they came with such numerous fleets, as seemed plainly designed to make a settlement. The event did not answer their expectations: one party of them was routed by the governor of *Devonshire*; another of their armies was defeated at *Sandwich* by king *Atbelstan*, and *Alcher* governor of *Kent*, and nine of their ships taken; a third, stronger than the others (being⁴ carried in a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail up the *Thames*) routed *Bertulf*, king of *Mercia*, and passing into *Surrey*, was cut in pieces by *Ethelwolf* and his son *Ethelbald*, at *Okeley*, with such a slaughter of the *Danes*, as was never heard of before; and yet after all they took up their winter quarters in the *Isle of Thanet*. An attempt was made two years after, by the *Kentish* and *Surrey* forces united, to dislodge them thence; but though they seemed to have the better at first, they failed of their point; both their governors been slain in the battle, and the *Danes* advancing further to winter the next year in *Shepey*. In the midst of these alarms and invasions, *Ethelwolf* quitted the⁵ realm, and went to *Rome*; either in consequence of some vow, or fit of voluntary devotion, or perhaps enjoined to do so by way of penance; a practice, which however inconvenient, was so usual in those days, that this prince imagined all his bounty to the churches, clergy, and people of *Rome*, sufficiently recompensed by a privilege he procured, that no *Englishman* should be sent out of his own country to do penance. *Anastatius Bibliothecarius*, who was there at the time, and an eye-witness of what he relates, extols the richness and value of the presents which he made to the nobility, clergy, and people of that place, and specifies many of them; besides that benefaction, which is mentioned by all our historians, of three hundred mancuses a year⁶, one third to the lamps of *St. Peter*, another to those of *St. Paul*, and the other to the pontiff himself, and his successors. This grant hath been often confounded with that of *Peter-pence*; but was really a new and a different benefaction⁷: it seems to have been occasioned by the distress in which the see of *Rome* appeared to be at that time; when the *Sarazens* were continually making descents in *Italy*. The *English* school in that city had been lately burnt, and was now rebuilt by *Ethelwolf*, who had brought with him *Alfred*, the youngest of his sons, and a favourite above all the rest, perhaps to encourage the disposition he had

¹ *Affer. Vita Alfredi.*

⁵ *Chr. Sax. A. D. 854.*

² *Chr. Sax. A. D. 837.*

⁶ *Affer. De gestis Alfredi.*

³ *ib. A. D. 851.*

⁷ *Anglia Sacra. 202.*

shewed to learning, or to receive the papal benediction. The young prince was ^{ETHELWOLF} but five years old, when he began the journey; but as he staid at this time a full year in *Rome*, it is very probable that he now received *confirmation* from the Pope; parents being by the old canons¹ enjoined to have their children confirmed by the seventh year of their age, under pain of excommunication. *Alfred* is said to have made two other voyages to *Rome*; one, the year before this of his father's; the other, the year after his return; which, as historians assign no particular cause for either, were probably owing to *Ethelwolf's* turn of devotion, and particular veneration of some places and relicks in that city. Unction was a ceremony used in the consecration of kings, as well as in the confirmation of children: and this hath occasioned a diversity of sentiments with regard to the unction that *Alfred* there received. Our old historians in general, think he was anointed by the Pope, to be either a king in futurity, or else to be actually so of the *Scuth-Saxons*, and the people of *South-Wales*², whose countries were intended for his share of *Ethelwolf's* dominions. Some moderns imagine, that as old people are naturally fond of children, the Pope might make the father some compliment on the promising aspect and good dispositions of the son, and express his hopes or expectation, that he would be one day a great king; but they cannot conceive, that he anointed him as such, whilst his elder brothers were living: they might have added, because *Ethelwolf* himself never was anointed.

III. NOTWITHSTANDING the reasons that have induced many to suppose, that the unction which *Alfred* received at *Rome* was only what is used in the rite of confirmation; yet there is no resisting the testimony of *Afferius*; who says expressly, that it was a *royal unction*, and is supported in this opinion, which, in all appearance, he derived from *Alfrid* himself, by the concurring sentiments of all our ancient historians. It is likewise universally agreed, that he was the first king of *England* inaugurated or designed to the royal dignity by that rite; which was after his time, and in consequence of his example, constantly observed at the coronation of all succeeding princes. To clear up this point, it may however be proper to enquire, as well into the original of this rite of unction, very ancient indeed among the *Jews* in the like cases, but not used in the coronation of *Christian* kings, till several ages after the Empire became *Christian*; as into the practice of the age wherein *Alfred* lived, in that respect. Now it is very plain from all the *Greek* historians, that the ceremony of proclaiming and inaugurating an Emperor was only by mounting him on a large shield, supported by some of the principal nobility and officers of the army, so as he might be seen by the people and soldiery; and whilst thus standing on high, the crown was put on his head by the first person of quality in the empire, or by him who had contributed most to his elevation. The history of *Julian's*³ usurpation affords a remarkable testimony of the use of this rite, when he assumed the imperial title: and it was continued after the unction

¹ *Cencil. in Brit. t. i. p. 576.*

² It appears very clearly from *Affer* and other historians, that *Alfrid* never had possession of *Sussex*, till after the death of all his brothers. *Egbert* indeed had reduced the little princes or toparchs of *South-Wales* to the condition of tributaries, and had perhaps annexed some part of that country to his own dominions, to serve, as new conquests generally did, for a provision to a younger branch of the royal family. Agreeable to this notion, we may observe that neither *Ethelwolf*, nor any of his sons, ever made any inroad into those southern

parts; though *Ethelwolf* joined with *Burrhed*^b in an expedition into *North-Wales*, and forced the inhabitants to a submission. It is very likely that the people of *South-Wales* continued quiet in their condition of vassals; and were, at least part of them, subject to *Alfrid*; because *Affer* observes, that he had a body of *Welsh* serving in his armies; and the compromise, mentioned in his testament to have been made with his elder brother *Ethered* on this last accession, shews he had a body of subjects under his command.

³ *Zosim. l. iii.*

^a *Malmesb. l. ii. c. i. M. West. A. D. 810, 811, 810.*

^b *Chr. Sax. A. D. 857.*

ETHELWOLF was introduced, as previous to it, according to *Cantacuzenus*¹. When a living Emperor designed, appointed, or associated his successor, he did it by putting a crown on his head. If the father of the new Emperor was living, when this last was to be crowned, as he was deemed the most honourable person in the empire, it was his province to put on the imperial diadem. In some instances the son did it, for *Leo* the younger crowned his father *Zeno*: but in case there was no person so nearly related to the Emperor, that office, from the time of *Theodosius the younger*, devolved upon the patriarch of *Constantinople*; who, upon the erection of that patriarchate, was deemed the next person of dignity in the eastern empire. It was considered purely as a matter of state: and the solemnity was performed either in the cirque, as in the cases of *Zeno* and *Anastatius*, or within the palace, where *Justin* and *Justinian* were crowned. There is in *Corippus* a particular description of the inauguration of *Justinus the younger*, who succeeded the famous *Justinian* in *A. D.* 565: in which the new Emperor being hoisted on a shield, was, as he stood upon it, solemnly crowned by the patriarch *John*, who accompanied the act with his wishes of a happy reign, amidst the shouts and tumultuous acclamations of an infinite number of spectators. There was hitherto no form of divine service suited to the occasion, no coronation office as yet compiled; nor was the custom of anointing at that time introduced: the like ceremony being all that was practised either in the inauguration of *Tiberius*, or of his successor *Mauritius*. When the former of these princes drew near his end, he got out of his bed to put the imperial diadem on the head of the latter; and in the tribunal by his bed-side, invested him with the purple robe, in the presence of the patriarch and before the people, who made the ordinary acclamations: and² these, the historian observes, were the usual and legal ceremonies observed at the creation of an Emperor. *Mauritius* and his whole family were, about *A. D.* 602, barbarously murdered, with all the shocking circumstances of cruelty, designed to shake the constancy and aggravate the anguish of that deposed prince, by *Phocas*, a centurion; who putting himself at the head of the mutinous soldiery, had usurped the empire, and been proclaimed as usual, mounted on a shield, by the army on the banks of the *Ister*³. Rebellion, usurpation, and murder, are crimes that require extraordinary measures, to palliate them in the eyes of the people, and to procure some veneration to the person who hath been guilty thereof. It was, in all appearance, for this reason, that *Phocas* seems to have been desirous of a new coronation; and, to interest religion in a cause of detestable iniquity, would have it done with certain religious ceremonies never practised before on such an occasion; but which he conceived proper to affect the people with a sacred awe of his character, and make them look upon him with the same veneration, as the *Jews* did of old upon the *Lord's anointed*.

For this purpose he summoned the senate to *Hebdomon*, a place seven miles from *Constantinople*: and communicated his resolution to them and to the patriarch *Cyrillus*, who was to perform the ceremony. It was the first time it had ever been performed in a religious place, and the church of *St. John Baptist* being pitched on for that purpose; in order to render the action itself agreeable to the place, it was necessary to have a form of divine service adapted to the occasion. This form appears evidently to have been taken from the offices used in the ordination of bishops and priests, the same order being observed in them all; the same proclamation of his being *worthy* and *sacred*; the same prayers, habits, and ceremonies used, with only such small variations, as the difference of their respective stations and characters necessarily required. It is on this occasion, that we first find mention made of the *Ambo*, otherwise called (in the *liber regalis*, kept by the dean and chapter of *Wyl-*

¹ L. i. c. 41.
in *Chronographia*

² *Theophyl. Histor. Mauritiu*, l. i. c. 1.

³ *Ib.* l. viii. c. 7. *Theophane*

minster, and containing the ceremonies of *English* coronations) the *pulpitum*, being a ^{ETHELWOLF} kind of stage or scaffold, raised so as to be ascended by several steps, that all the rites may be seen by spectators, and in that respect answering the ends of the elevation on a shield; which fell of course into disuse, when a coronation service was introduced. It was afterwards fixed, and continually subsisting in the great church of *St. Sophia* in *Constantinople*, though in *England* it is only erected on particular occasions, and taken away when the coronation is over.

SUCH was the occasion upon which the unction was first used in coronations: and being one of the principal parts of the form of divine service drawn up for (what is properly styled) the *consecration* of kings, it came to be constantly practised, not only in the inauguration of the *eastern* Emperors, but also of the *western* and other *European* monarchs. Those who have the least of real religion, either in their conduct or sentiments, find often political reasons to make the loudest pretensions to it, the better to gull and amuse the unthinking world, too apt to judge of men by their professions, rather than their actions. How far the parade of religious ceremonies, prayers, and particularly the unction, so agreeable to what were used in the consecration of persons to sacerdotal dignities, which the people had always looked upon with the highest veneration, answered the usurper *Phocas's* purpose, may be guessed from the notions industriously propagated in that age by divines, and in all probability generally entertained by others. Mr. *Selden*¹ quotes *Balsamon* on the *Ancyran* council, for a declaration of *Polyeuctus*, patriarch of *Constantinople*; who made no doubt but *John Tzimiscus*, who afterwards usurped the *Greek* empire, was cleared before heaven of the death of *Phocas*, by his being anointed *Emperor*. Such extravagant effects were even in those days, by persons influenced in all appearance by political views, ascribed to some exterior rites of religion.

It is upon this rite of unction, used in the coronation of our kings, that our common lawyers have² founded their notion of a king's being a *persona mixta*, as if he was half a spiritual and half a temporal person; though the same might be as well said of every *Christian* baptized or confirmed according to the *Roman* ritual, which prescribes unction in those offices. It is upon this precarious footing, that some of them have injudiciously put the jurisdiction of the crown in ecclesiastical matters; though it be an incident to royalty, and inherently vested in all sovereigns, who have not made a cession of their prerogative in that respect. It is to this unction likewise, Sir *John Fortescue*³ and others ascribe the gift of healing the scrophulous humour called the *king's evil*, exercised by some *European* princes, anointed at their coronations, and succeeding lineally to their crowns by proximity of blood, hath been generally attributed. But whatever is to be said in favour of its being appropriated to the eldest descendant of the first branch of the royal line of the kings of *France*, *England*, &c. I have myself seen a very remarkable instance of such a cure⁴, which could not possibly be ascribed to the regal unction.

¹ *Titles of honour*, part i. c. 8. *Supplem. ad Balsam.* p. 1125. edit. *Paris.* *Filescac. De idololat. politic.* c. 9. p. 73.

² *Year book* x. H. vii. 18. a.

³ *Defence of the title of the house of Lancaster*, Pet. Blefens.

⁴ One *Christopher Lovel*, born at *Wells* in *Somersetshire*, but when he grew up, residing in the city of *Bristol*, where he got his living by labour, was extremely afflicted for many years with that distemper, and such a flow of the scrophulous humour, that though it found a vent by five running sores about his breast, neck, and arms, there was such a tumour on one side of his neck, as left no hollow between his cheek and the upper part of his left shoulder, and forced him to keep his head always

awry. The young man was reduced, by the virulence of the humour, to the lowest state of weakness; appeared a miserable object in the eyes of all the inhabitants of that populous city; and having for many years tried all the remedies which the art of physick could administer, without receiving any benefit, resolved at last to go abroad to be touched. He had an uncle in the place; who was an old seaman, and carried him from *Bristol*, at the end of *August*, A. D. 1716, along with him to *Corke* in *Ireland*; where he put him on board a ship that was bound to *St. Martins* in the *Ile of Ré*. From thence *Christopher* made his way first to *Paris*, and then to the place where he was touched, in the beginning of *November* following, by the eldest lineal descendant of a race of kings, who had in-

ETHELWOLF

THE rite of unction, and a form of divine service at the coronation of kings, had been used near an hundred and fifty years in the *eastern* empire, before either of them were adopted in any part of the *west* of *Europe* for the inauguration of monarchs; except in *Spain*, where we find ¹ *Wamba* was anointed in *A. D.* 673, by *Quirigo*, archbishop of *Toledo*; and the same rite being used at the coronation of his successor *Ervigius*, was probably continued for a few years, till the *Gothic* empire in that country was destroyed by the *Moors*; after which it was never revived in *Castille*. In *France*, about *A. D.* 751, *Pepin*, *maire of the palace*, having all the power of the kingdom in his hands, and resolving to depose his master *Chilperic*, the last monarch of the *Merovingian* line, thought it politic to be crowned in the eastern manner, with a form of divine service, and the rite of unction², so necessary to hallow his usurpation. *Boniface*, archbishop of *Mayence*, a prelate highly revered by the people for the exemplariness of his life, and his zeal in propagating the *Christian* religion, but ever ready to serve at any rate the ambitious views of popes and princes, was pitched upon as the fittest person to perform the office at *Soissons*, and to add, by the reputation of his sanctity, to the veneration which those religious solemnities would ordinarily inspire: and for the same reason, the rite was repeated three years after by Pope *Stephen III.* at *St. Denis*³. It was probably on this occasion, that the legend of the *Ampull*, and the holy oil of *Reims*, pretended to be sent to *St. Remi*, and used in the coronation of *Clovis* (who yet was only hoisted on a shield at his inauguration, and never was anointed, except at his baptism) was first invented, in order to be made use of at *Pepin's* consecration, and strike the people with a relation, easily swallowed in those days, of such a signal mark of divine favour. To such wretched shifts are the invaders of others thrones put, to gloss over the iniquity of their usurpation; and by imposing on the credulity of their subjects, to procure from them a veneration, which being

deed, for a long succession of ages, cured that distemper by the royal touch: but this descendant and next heir of their blood had not, at least at that time, been either crowned or anointed. The usual effect however followed: from the moment that the man was touched and invested with the narrow ruband, to which a small piece of silver was pendant, according to the rites prescribed in the office appointed by the church for that solemnity, the humour dispersed insensibly, his sores healed up, and he recovered strength daily, till he arrived in perfect health, in the beginning of *January* following, at *Bristol*, having spent only four months and some few days in his voyage. There it was, and in the week preceding *St. Paul's fair*, that I saw the man, in his recovered vigour of body, without any remains of his complaint, but what were to be seen in the red scars then left upon the five places, where the sharp humour had found a vent, but which were otherwise entirely healed, and as sound as any other part of his body. Dr. *Lane*, an eminent physician in the place, whom I visited on my arrival, told me of this cure, as the most wonderful thing that had ever happened: and pressed me as well to see the man upon whom it was performed, as to talk about his case with Mr. *Samuel Pye*, a very skilful surgeon, and I believe still living in that city; who had tried in vain, for three years together, to cure the man by physical remedies. I had an opportunity of doing both: and Mr. *Pye*, after dining together, carrying me to the man, I examined and informed myself fully of all particulars, relating as well to his illness as his cure: and found upon the whole, that if it is not to be deemed mi-

raculous, it at least deserved the character, given of it by Dr. *Lane*, of being one of the most wonderful events that has ever happened. There are abundance of instances of the cure of the *king's evil*, by the touch of our *English* princes in former times, mentioned by *Tucker* in his book on that subject: and it is observable, that the author was himself an infidel on that head, till convinced of his mistake by the late learned Mr. *Amynt*, garter king of arms, who furnished him with those proofs out of the *English* records, which attest the facts, and are printed in that treatise. But I am apt to think, there never was an instance, in which the distemper had prevailed to an higher degree, or the surprizing cure of it was known to such infinite multitudes of people, as in the case of *Christopher Lovel*. Dr. *Plot*, in his *Natural history of Oxfordshire*, c. 127, says, "that a piece of gold of *Edward the confessor*, with two small holes through it, like the pieces given after the touch to be hung about the neck, were found in *St. Gile's Field*, in the suburbs of *Oxford*."

¹ *Selden's Titles of honour*, p. 1. c. 7.

² *Pepin* fut le premier de nos souverains, qui ajouta a son installation la ceremonie de son sacre: pour adoucir aux yeux du peuple, ce qu'une entreprise aussi violente pouvoit avoir d'injuste et d'odieux: peut-être même pour rendre sa personne plus respectable par ces ceremonies religieuses, et le mettre à couvert, sous le manteau de la religion, des attentats auxquels sont exposez la plupart des usurpateurs. *Origine de la Grandeur de la Cour de Rome*, par l'Abbé Vertot, p. 27.

³ *P. Daniel Hist. de France*, *A. D.* 751, 754.

due only to rightful princes, would otherwise scarce be paid to an ill acquired ETHELWOLF dignity.

THIS rite was first introduced into *England* upon a like usurpation after the death of *Ethelred*, king of the *Northumbrians*; who was slain in an insurrection of his subjects on *April 16, A. D. 796*. *Eardulf*, mounting the throne without any pretensions of hereditary right, thought it politick to follow *Pepin's* example: and was on ¹ *May 26*. following, anointed king at *York* by archbishop *Eanbald*, assisted by *Ethelbert*, *Higbbald*, and *Badewulf*, bishops of *Hexam*, *Landisfarne* and *Whitberne*. It doth not appear that this precedent was followed by any other *Saxon* prince during the heptarchy; for writers in after-ages, being too apt to employ terms, used in their own days, and relative to modern practice, when treating of transactions much more ancient, though some of them speak of *Egferth* the son of *Offa* as anointed king in his father's life-time², they seem to mean no more, than that this prince, was in a General council of the *Mercian* nobility, designed or declared by *Offa* to be his successor, and received their assurances of fidelity. Rightful kings are not fond of following the example of usurpers³, without an evident necessity: nor was the rite of unction used in the inauguration of any of our *English* princes, till *Alfred* received it at *Rome*, where the Emperor *Charles the Great* had been about fifty four years before anointed with great solemnity. It was afterwards constantly used in *England*: upon *Ethelwolf's* return thither, *Edmund* was consecrated king with that rite by *Humbert*⁴ bishop of *Helmham*, at *Bures* upon the river *Stoure*, which parts *Suffolk* and *Essex*; so was *Alfred*⁵ himself at *Winchester*, after *Ethelred's* death, when he mounted the throne of the *West-Saxons*; and according to the agreeing testimony of our historians, all the succeeding monarchs of *England* were anointed in the same manner. The great reputation of *Charlemagne* recommended his example to the imitation of all the princes of *Europe*: and as that emperor had, in a voyage he made to *Italy* in *A. D. 780*⁶, taken his two younger sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, along with him, the former three years, the latter but two years old, and got them anointed kings by the Pope, the one of *Lombardie*, the other of *Aquitaine* on *April 15*. following, when he was keeping the feast of *Easter* at *Rome*, this precedent seems to have engaged *Ethelwolf* to take the like step in regard to *Alfred*.

IV. ANOTHER effect of *Ethelwolf's* devotion, and perhaps of his people's, was the famous grant made to the clergy of *England* in a general council of the kings, prelates, and nobility of *Mercia*, and the *East-Angles*, as well as of the *West-Saxs*, and other countries immediately subject to this king; all writers agreeing, that it was made in order to avert the divine judgments which they felt in the ravages of the *Danes*, and to atone for the sins of the nation. It is generally supposed, that the tythes of all the hydes and lands in *Ethelwolf's* demesnes or kingdom were, by this grant, vested in the clergy; the tenth part of the lands (as Mr. *Selden*⁷ maintains) denoting the tenth part of all the profits growing thereon: but it is very certain, that what is usually understood by the word tythes, had been enjoyed long before by the *English* clergy, and in all appearance from the very time that each *Saxon* nation embraced the *Christian* religion. It hath been already observed, that when the *Saxons*, become *Christians*, subdued any part of the territories of the *Britains*, their kings gave to their own clergy such

The king's grants to the clergy.

¹ *Sim. Dun. De gest. reg. Aan. 796. Chr. Sax.*

² *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 4.*

³ *Alfred Rival Pit.*

E. Conf.

⁴ *Asser. Menev.*

⁵ *Chron. de regib. Ang. MS. Com. Arundel.*

⁶ *Eginhart*

Annal. Carolin.

⁷ *Hist. of Tythes, c. 8.*

ETHELWOLF

possessions¹ had belonged to the *British*: and it may reasonably be presumed, that they took the same method in their own country, when Paganism was abolished; and assigned them likewise possessions, revenues, and rights which had belonged to the heathen priests, for the maintenance of their families, and the exercise of a religion much more expensive in its sacrifices, than the *Christian*. The apostolical precept directing in general, that such as preached the gospel, should live by the gospel, was supposed, in a religion of greater perfection than the *Jewish*, to convey an obligation of offering to God, and contributing, at least in the same proportion as the *Jews* did, to the maintenance and support of the clergy. Hence in all the canons of the church² and laws of the *Saxon* kings, antecedent to this grant, for enforcing or regulating the payment of tythes, their ordinances are still supported by passages quoted from the *Jewish* law, and requiring tythes to be paid by all persons, not only out of the fruits of their land and gardens, but out of all acquisitions and gains, whether in war, trade, labour, or other business; in a word, out of every thing that a man possessed; as well out of his personal, as his real estate. It appears likewise from *Bede's* letter to archbishop *Egbert*, that before parishes were settled all over the diocese of *York*, all the people, even in the remotest and most mountainous parts of it, where tythes could not well be gathered in kind, and where they had no opportunities of divine service, still made regular payments to the bishop for his support and that of his clergy.

*SIR Henry Spelman*³ thinks, that the tenth acre all over *England* was by this grant conveyed to the clergy, and that this was the original of their *Glebelands*; though these were afterwards augmented by the munificence of patrons: nor is it any objection to this notion, that the glebe of the parochial clergy doth not at present amount to the tenth part of the land in their several parishes; because the terms of the grant allow the proprietors of lands to bestow the tenth acre, either to monasteries and nunneries, or to the parish churches, as they pleased. It is likely that these last received some improvement on this occasion: but it hath been shewed already, that such glebe was annexed generally to churches, from the first institution of parishes, and from the time of archbishop *Theodore*. The differences which appear in our old historians with regard as well to the time of this grant, whether made before *Ethelwolf's* setting out for *Rome*, or after his return thence, or to the extent of it; whether including only the *West-Saxons*, or comprehending likewise the rest of *England*, are naturally enough accounted for by the two charters, signed on this occasion, and containing grants of a like nature; which led different writers, as they had the one or the other in their view, to vary as well in relation to the time of their passing, as in their account of the contents. The first of these charters published by *Dugdale*⁴ and *Malmesbury*⁵, and dated on *Easter* day, *A. D.* 854. *Indict.* 2. at *Ethelwolf's* palace at *Winton*, contains a grant of the tenth part of the lands in his kingdom to the church for ever, free from all secular services: and being passed at an ordinary court or council held at one of the great festivals, when he was only attended by the nobility of the countries immediately subject to him, seems to relate only to the realm of the *West-Saxons*, as the date shews it to have been made before he began his *Italian* voyage. The latter charter, which appears in *Ingulf*⁶ and other writers, was passed after that prince's

¹ See *Excerpt. Egbert. archiep. Ebor. in Conc. M. Brit. t. i. p. 102. canon v. p. 103. c. 24, 25. Canon 101, 102, & ib. p. 149. in Actis Synod. Caleyth. A. D. 785. c. 17.*

² *Concil. M. Brit. t. i. p. 185.*

³ *Monast. Angl. t. i. p. 100.*

⁴ *in Angl. Sacr. t. ii. p. 26.*

⁵ *Vit. Altham. p. 862.*

return, in an assembly of all the states of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, as well as of the *West-Saxons*, on *November 3, A. D. 855*: and was then offered in a solemn manner upon the great altar of *St. Peter's* church at *Winchester*, in the presence, and with the subscriptions, of *Burrhed* king of *Mercia*, *Edmund* king of the *East-Angles*, and of all the bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, and nobility of all *England*. This act of parliament, as it may be justly termed, obliged all orders of men, who enjoyed any landed estate of inheritance, to give at least a tenth part of it, and of all their goods, to the clergy¹, as well secular as regular, or to the poor, free from all services: and that the clergy might not be interrupted in the duties of their function, and in their prayers for the publick welfare, it exempts all the possessions which they held at that time, from all fines, royal aids, and taxes whatever; particularly from all military expeditions and the charges as well of making and repairing bridges, as of guarding and fortifying castles, which had been always, either in express terms, or by common intendment of law, understood to be excepted in all grants of privileges and immunities made in former reigns to churches. That this exemption of the clergy, and their possessions, was contained in the grant, is unanimously asserted by our historians. Bishops used before to serve frequently in their own persons, and to contribute always towards the charges of wars: but were now discharged from those and all other secular burdens. How far the former part of the charter took effect, as to the tenth of the lands of private men, who were left at their liberty to choose the persons, to whom they would grant it, doth not appear; but this latter part took place immediately, as *Mr. Selden*² observes: "every proprietor of land, was from this time to be rated in all subsidies and taxes, according only to nine parts of his land and profits, and the profits of the tenth, being due to the church, were both in his and their hands discharged from all payments and taxes whatsoever."

V. *ETHELWOLF*, soon after his return home, became involved in new troubles; which he had little reason to expect, and were the more grievous because they arose from his own family. As he passed in his way from *Rome* through *France*, he had married *Judith*, daughter to *Charles the bald*; which seems to have given offence to the children of his first marriage, who either did not like their step-mother, or were alarmed at some ceremonies, such as anointing her with oil, and putting a crown upon her head; ceremonies not yet adopted into the *English* ceremonial, but used by *Hincmar* archbishop of *Reims*³ at her marriage. It happened also unfortunately that *Athelstan*, the eldest of his sons, died about this time; for he subscribed, as king of *Kent*, his father's charter to the abbey of *Malmesbury*⁴ in *A. D. 854*, if not the confirmation of it in *A. D. 855*. *Ethelbald* by that accident became the eldest of *Ethelwolf's* surviving sons; and whether he imagined from the ceremonies abovementioned, there was some design formed for leaving the crown to *Judith's* children, or was put upon it by *Ealstan*, the warlike bishop of *Sherburn*, *Eanulf* earl of *Somerset*, and other factious noblemen that⁵ engaged in his quarrel, would not be content with the dominions assigned to his late brother, but insisted on being put into immediate possession of the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*. The young prince, who was headstrong, obstinate, and perverse in his nature, made no difficulty of embarking in an unnatural war against his own father, and the greatest part of the *English* nobility who sided with

¹ Sive famulis & famulabus Dei, Deo servientibus, sive laicis miseris. *Malmesbury* in reciting this charter. (*De gestis regum*, l. ii. c. 2.) leaves out the word miseris, as *Rudborne* also does in *Hist.*

Major. Winton. l. iii. c. 2.

² *Ib.* c. 8.

³ *Hincmari opera*, t. i. p. 751.

⁴ *Malmesb. Vita S. Aldhelm.* in *Angl. Sacr.* t. ii.

p. 27.

⁵ *Affer.* in *Vita Alfredi.*

ETHELWOLF him: and this must have followed, had not the goodness of *Ethelwulf* interposed, to prevent the calamities of his country, by a voluntary quitting of all the western provinces of his kingdom to *Ethelbald*. This having quieted the young prince's jealousy, or satisfied the views of his counsellors, he saw without repining *Judith* honoured with the title of queen according to the custom of foreign nations, and sitting by the king in his royal throne; a sight unusual and odious to the *English*, since the time of *Brigetric's* wife *Eadburga*.

ETHELWOLF lived about two years after his return from *Rome*¹: and dying in *A. D.* 857, divided his private patrimony between all his children, and his kingdoms between the two eldest sons; *Ethelbald* retaining the ancient inheritance of the *West-Saxons*, and *Ethelbert* enjoying the realms lately conquered of *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Essex*. It doth not appear, what appanages he assigned to the two youngest; though some they undoubtedly had, according to the *Saxon* custom, perhaps given in his life-time; or that his favourite *Alfred*, was provided for, any otherwise than by a share of that patrimony, and the hopes of succeeding to the whole monarchy, in case he survived his brothers; it being provided by *Ethelwulf's* disposition, suited to the circumstances of the times, for the better defence of the kingdom against the *Danes*, and confirmed in a general council of the *West-Saxon* nobility held at *Langdene*², that after *Ethelbald's* death, they should all succeed to it in their order. *Ethelbald* began his reign with the incestuous act of marrying his father's widow³, and governed for some time in a very arbitrary manner⁴; but being at last reclaimed by the remonstrances of *Switbun* bishop of *Winchester*, he put away *Judith*; who continued however in *England* till his death, *A. D.* 860, and being afterwards sent home, was taken at sea by *Baldwin*, styled *Forester of Flanders*; till espousing his fair prisoner, he changed his title into that of Count, upon the marriage being ratified by her father's consent.

ETHELBERT ETHELBERT, who succeeded, adding the realm of the *West-Saxons* to his former dominions, conducted himself with great mildness towards his subjects, and with as much vigour against the *Danes*, during the five or six years of his reign⁵: and dying in *A. D.* 866. left the kingdom to his next brother *Æthelred*.

ÆTHELRED. THIS prince kept to himself not only the hereditary kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, but likewise the conquered provinces, which used to be assigned in a father's life-time to an eldest son, to train him up for the exercise of an independent government, and served afterwards for an appanage to a younger brother; notwithstanding the demand made of them, at the time he assumed the crown, by *Alfred*, now seventeen years old, in the presence of all the *English* nobility. This demand was grounded on an agreement⁶ made between the two princes themselves, and attested by those noblemen, that *Æthelred*, upon his accession to the crown, should give *Alfred* a competent share, as well of his hereditary dominions, as of those he should acquire by the assistance of his brother and his people; but when that event happened, *Æthelred* was unwilling to perform his promise; and having the power in his hands, absolutely refused to execute the stipulation, or give up any part of the territories he had long possessed. This produced a new compromise; by which *Æthelred* engaged to leave at his death "the entire kingdom

¹ *Asser. Ib.*

² *Alfredi Testam. Ib.*

³ It is very probable that *Ethelwulf* never bedded *Judith*. Her father *Charles the bald* was born *June 13, A. D.* 823, and married *Ermantrude* on *Dec. 14. A. D.* 842, by whom he had four sons and three daughters, mentioned by historians, besides others who died in their infancy. Their eldest son *Louis* was born in *Nov. A. D.* 843,

and if *Judith* was the next child (which doth not appear) she could not be eleven years old, when married to *Ethelwulf*, and might perhaps be still younger.

⁴ *Rudborne in Hist. Major. in Winton. l. ii. c. 2.*

⁵ *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 3. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 866.

⁶ *Alfredi Testam.*

“to none but *Alfred*, and in the mean time to allow him a share of such lands *ETHERED*.
 “and territories as should be conquered by their joint forces; that their sons
 “should succeed one after another in their order; and whoever should be the
 “surviver, was to give the other’s children all the lands of which their father had
 “been put in possession by *Ethelwolf*, and all such as he should acquire by con-
 “quest.” This compromise was confirmed in a general council of all the
 princes and nobility of the *West-Saxons*, held at *Swinburne*: and the two brothers
 acted on all occasions with a perfect concert; which was very necessary to enable
 them to make head against the common enemy, who invaded their territories with
 more numerous and formidable forces, than ever before.

THE reason why the *Danes* came in such multitudes hath been already men-
 tioned; for the story of *Lodbroke’s* being driven by a storm in a small boat to the
 coast of *Norfolk*, and *St. Edmund’s* falconer being, for the murder committed on
 him, put into the same boat, and carried by the waves to *Denmark*, seems to be one
 of those romantic and fabulous relations, with which in those days they usually in-
 terlarded the legends of murdered princes. The *Danes* indeed landed in the king-
 dom of the *East-Angles*¹: but do not appear to have had any spleen against them;
 their chief design being upon the *Northumbrian* territories. With this view they
 soon made peace with the former people; and having passed a quiet winter among
 them, quitted their country in the spring: when being supplied by them with
 horses for their northern expedition, they marched, without stopping by the way,
 directly into *Yorkshire*, which they subdued, as is above related. Two years² after,
 they moved southward: and advanced to *Nottingham*, where they took up their win-
 ter quarters; threatening *Mercia* with an invasion. *Burrhed*, to oppose them, applied
 for succours to *Æthered* and *Alfred*; who marching with an army of *West-Saxons*
 to his assistance, found the *Danes* had fortified themselves in the place, which was
 not easily to be forced. This, after a few skirmishes of parties, drew on a treaty;
 which ended in a peace with the *Mercians*: and the *Pagans* returned to their
 quarters in *Yorkshire*. It was only in *A. D.* 870³, that passing through *Lincoln-*
shire, they destroyed *Bardney*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and all the monasteries that lay in
 their way, whose riches and plate tempted their avarice: and falling upon the terri-
 tories of the *East-Angles*, slew king *Edmund*, after defeating his forces in a battle
 near *Thetford*, and subdued the whole country.

THEY had brought along with them an infinite number of women and children,
 to plant the parts where they proposed to settle: and being encouraged by the fa-
 cility of their conquests, advanced the year following into the country of the *West-*
*Saxons*⁴; the onely power able to oppose them, and prevent their making a con-
 quest of all *England*. *Æthered* expected, on this occasion, the like supplies from
 the *Mercians*, as he had given them two years before in their distress: but, whether
 they were afraid of provoking the *Danes*, or were glad of an opportunity to throw
 off the *West-Saxon* yoke, they refused them, as well as the *Northumbrians*; both
 disclaiming their vassalage⁵, and setting up for independent governments, which
 proved, within two years, the utter ruin of *Mercia*; the whole country being sub-
 dued by the *Danes*, and *Burrhed*, in defect of any other protection after such a be-
 haviour, being forced to fly into foreign parts for refuge. *Reading*, seated at the
 confluence of the *Thames* and *Kennet*, appeared to the *Pagans* a proper place for
 their head-quarters: and they fortified it by drawing intrenchments and ramparts
 between the two rivers. From hence they made incursions into the adjoining parts
 of *Berks* and *Hants*; which gave occasion to several battles fought with various

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 866.² *Affer. Vita Alfredi. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 866.³ *Ib. A. D.* 868.⁴ *Ib. A. D.* 870. *Chron. Petriburg.*⁵ *Ib. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 871.⁶ *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 3.*

ÆTHERED. success. The most considerable of these was that of *Assdown*¹, an hilly tract of country, over-looking *the vale of the white horse*, which seems to have taken its denomination from a monument in the figure of an horse, cut on the sloping side of the chalky down, in memory of the great victory there gained by the bravery and conduct of *Alfred* (to which some add, the efficacy of *Æthered's* prayers) over the *Danes*; one of whose principal kings, with five of their earls, or chief generals, and many thousands of their common soldiers, fell in the battle. The broken remains of the *Pagan* army fled to their *corps* at *Reading*: and making excursions thence, about a fortnight after, were attacked by the two royal brothers near *Basing* in *Hampshire*, but with some disadvantage in the action. There was another, about two months after, fought with a greater number of forces on both sides, the *Danes* having received considerable recruits, and advanced to *Merantun*, probably *Merden* in *Wiltshire*, which proved alike unfortunate to the *English*; for though they broke both the wings of the *Pagan* army, yet pursuing in disorder, the enemy rallied and remained master of the field. In this engagement *Æthered* received a wound, which proved mortal: and dying after *Easter*, left the crown to his brother, who was soon after anointed king at *Winchester*².

ALFRED.

His war with
the *Danes*.

VI. **ALFRED**, beloved and esteemed by all the world, was soon settled in the throne, and allowed the *Danes* no liberty to ravage the country. Within a month after *Æthered's* death, he³ fought them with a much inferior body of forces at *Wilton*: and attacked them every where with so much vigour, that they lost nine of their principal Generals, and an infinite number of their common men, in eight pitched battles, which were fought in this single year; besides many thousands slain in the engagements of lesser parties, which happened continually. The *Pagans* finding so warm a reception in all places, thought it their best way to make peace with *Alfred*, and quit his territories: which they did, leaving him quiet for about five years, and employing that time in harassing the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, planting the *Northumbrian* dominions, and subduing *Mercia*. At the end of that term, they landed in *Dorsetshire*⁴, and seized *Wareham*: but on the king's marching against them they sued for peace, delivered what hostages he demanded, and swore as well upon a bracelet, which was most sacred among them, as upon the relicks, in which he most confided, that they would quit the country immediately. *Alfred* found by experience on this occasion, that oaths and hostages were but weak ties upon men, who, devoted to avarice, and minding nothing but rapine, were utter strangers to all honour and conscience: all the use the *Danes* made of the treaty, was to march off by night, and surprize *Exeter*; where they fortified themselves, and passed the winter, their numbers encreasing daily by fresh supplies.

ALFRED, considering the advantages that the enemy derived from their shipping, which enabled them to attack any part they pleased of the maritime provinces of his kingdom, to surprize the inhabitants, to seize towns, and carry off their booty, before the country could get to an head, either for the defence or recovery of their goods, resolved to fit out a fleet, to encounter them at sea and prevent their landing. The *Saxons*, so well skilled in naval affairs at the time of their first invasion of *Britain*, seem to have neglected them entirely after they had fixed their settlements in the island: and *Alfred* was obliged, on this occasion, to take into his pay some *Frisian* captains and seamen, with other corsairs, that lived by piracies on the ocean, to man the navy⁵, which he fitted out and employed to block up *Exeter* by sea, whilst he invested it by land. A fleet of an hundred and twenty *Danish* vel-

A. D. 877.

¹ See Mr. *Wise's* letter to Dr. *Mead*, about some antiquities in *Berkshire*. ² *MS. Chron. De regib. Angliæ*, in manu com. *Arundel*, penes *J. Asplis armig.* ³ *Asser. ib.* ⁴ *ib.* and *Chr. Sax. A. D. 876.* ⁵ *Asser. ib.*

sels, laden with provisions and a strong body of forces on board for the succour of *Alfred*. the place, was attacked by this new armado, and totally destroyed¹; a loss which making the besieged despair of relief, obliged them to give fresh hostages, and renew their oaths, for a speedy departure out of the country. They accordingly went, in *August*, into *Mercia*, set up *Ceolulf*, a weak man, to govern part of that kingdom under them, and parcelled out the rest of the provinces among themselves. The *Danes* were now masters of all *England* north of the *Thames*, and saw nothing capable of rendering their possession of it insecure, or of stopping them in the conquest of the rest, but the power of *Alfred*: who having religiously kept his treaty with them, and not opposed them in the reduction of *Mercia*, had no reason to expect an invasion of his dominions. But they had so many different princes, generals, and armies, that a convention with any one of them was of no use, whilst the rest did not think themselves obliged to keep any of the stipulations. *Guthrum*, otherwise called *Gormund*, *Oskytel*, and *Amund*², three *Danish* kings lately come over, had been chiefly concerned in the conquest of *Mercia*; whilst *Haldene* divided the *Northumbrian* territories among his followers: they had no enemy now left, but the *West-Saxons*, and these it was resolved to subdue with their united forces. *Haldene*³ sent one of his brothers on board a fleet to make a descent in the west, whilst *Guthrum* fell into the eastern part of *Alfred's* territories, after the *Epiphany*, in *January A. D. 878*, so suddenly, and with such a prodigious number of forces, that he seized *Chippenham* in *North-Wiltshire*, one of the chief towns of the *West-Saxons*, and over-ran the country like a deluge. The *English* in the adjoining counties, surprized and dismayed at this sudden invasion, fled, some beyond sea, others into distant parts for refuge; whilst those that could not get off submitted to the enemy: and the terror was so great and universal, that it was impracticable for *Alfred* to get any considerable body of troops together, whilst the panick lasted. In this extremity, he retired into the morasses of *Somerset*; often changing his abode⁴, but staying most in the *Isle of Athelney*, or *Athelney*, about five miles from *Taunton*: where he erected a fortress for his present security, and passed near four months⁵ in those parts, very thinly attended, and in great privacy, till he could assemble his forces. The *Danes*, finding no enemy to appear before them in the field, became perfectly secure; and quitting the strong camp, which they had at first fortified according to the rules of their military discipline, roved about the country, plundering far and near, without the least apprehension of danger.

It happened about this time, that *Hubba*, brother to *Haldene* and *Inguar*, having landed with a body of troops at the mouth of the *Taw*, near *Barnstable*, in the north of *Devonshire*, and besieged the fortress of *Kinwith*⁶, was routed and slain with twelve hundred of his men by *Odun*, earl of that county: and the famous standard of the *Danes*, on which the figure of a raven flying was wrought by the general's three sisters, and which, by the superstitious notions

¹ In the editions of *Affersius*, there is mention made of another sea-fight; but Mr. *Wise* has observed, that one of the relations was taken from some other copy, and inserted in the *Cotton MS.* agreeable to a note there found: for the number of the *Danish* fleet is the same in both actions, and though places seemingly different are assigned to each, yet I am persuaded, they mean one and the same place; for, as I have observed already, the *G* and the *S* may be easily mistaken for one another, so may the *e* and the *c*, and every body used to old MSS. knows very well, there is no distinguishing the *n*, *u*, and *i*, when put together, as in the two words—*Guanenwic* and *Suanawine*, but by the

sense, which help fails in the names of places. I take the name of the place of this sea-engagement to be now called *Suanawic* (as in the *Saxon chronicle*) or *Sanewick*, near *Pevenell* point on the coast of *Dorsetshire*; a place that deserves to be famous for the first considerable naval victory of the *English*.

² *Chr. Sax. A. D. 875.* ³ *ib. A. D. 878.*

⁴ *Affer. Vita Alfredi. Chr. Sax. A. D. 878.*

⁵ *Easter-day* fell this year on *March 23*, and *Whitsunday* on *May 11*, when the battle of *Ethandune* was fought.

⁶ *Affer. ib.* See *Camden* in *Devon*.

ALFRED. entertained of it, used to inspire them with a confidence of victory, was taken in the action. This success raising the spirits of the *West-Saxons*, and *Alfred* being apprized of the negligence and security of the *Danes*, he took proper measures for surprizing them: and appointed in the week before *Whitsuntide*, a rendezvous for the *Wilts*, *Hants*, and *Somerſet* forces at *Brixton*, in the first of those counties, and in the eastern part of the forest of *Selwood*. He marched thence with as much privacy as possible to *Æcgley*; and on the third morning came up at *Ethandune* with the ² enemy; who being scattered and in disorder, were easily routed. *Alfred* had taken care to get between them and their strong encampment; so that their retreat thither being intercepted, a terrible slaughter ensued, and the remainder of the *Danes*, flying to a weaker camp in the neighbourhood, were immediately invested. This place not being supplied with provisions for a siege, the *Danes* were, in a fortnight's time, forced to submit to the conqueror's mercy, on such conditions as he pleased to prescribe, and to deliver what hostages he thought fit to demand for their performance of the articles. In all former treaties, hostages had been mutually given³: but now *Alfred* gave none on his part, and having received those of the *Pagans*, obliged them to promise solemnly upon oath, either to quit the country, or to turn *Christians*, and be content with such lands as he should assign them to inhabit and cultivate. Such as rejected this last condition, went with *Hasting*, one of their chief generals, to *Flanders*, where they exercised their usual cruelties and depredations⁴. *Gothrun*, who seems to be the only *Danish* king left (*Oslytel* and *Amund*, his fellow-adventurers, having probably been slain) came in a little time, with thirty of his principal nobility, and a great number of his officers, to *Alfred's* court at *Aller* in *Somerſetſhire*: and was there baptized; the king himself being his godfather. After a stay of twelve days, during which they were nobly entertained and received large presents, *Gothrun* and his train returned to their army; which retiring into *Mercia*, passed some time at *Cirenceſter*, and from thence marched into the kingdom of the *East-Angles*; *Alfred* having allotted it, with the adjoining county of *Essex*, for their habitation, and *Gothrun* being to hold it under him as a *feudatary*.

¹ *Vita S. Neoti* in *Leland's Itin.* t. iv. p. 127. *Spelman's Vit. Ælfredi*, p. 33.

² This place is generally supposed to be *Hedington* in *Wilts*, and the fortifications, still visible on *Bratton* hill two miles distant, are conceived to favour this notion; though no body can point out a place, that hath any resemblance to *Æcgley* or *Acley*. But the camp on *Bratton* hill is not *Danish*, and was probably fortified in the wars carried on for near two centuries, on the borders of *Wilts* and *Somerſet*, between the *Saxons* and *Britains*. The great forest of *Selwood* took up all that tract of country, which was consequently very unfit for the *Danish* depredations: and the rest of *Wilts* was then so covered with woods, that we read of few engagements there in the *Saxon* times, except about *Wilton*. But *Berks* was a plentiful country, well inhabited; and thus became the scene of abundance of battles, and a proper temptation for the *Danes* in their quest of plunder. It was into the last country, that I imagine they fell, and encamped at *Ethandune*, a place mentioned in *Alfred's* will, and bequeathed to *Alswith* with *Wantage* and *Lamborne*; all the three manors lying near one another in the same country, if *Ethandune* be the place now spelt *Yattendun*. *E* is still by the country people pronounced like *Ye*: so for *Edward*, they say, *Yethard*: and was in *Leland's* time wrote in the beginning of words agreeable

to that pronunciation. The name shews it to be seated on an eminence, on which armies in those days generally encamped, and on all these accounts I take *Yattendun* to be the place in question. It was not consistent with common sense for *Alfred* to appoint the rendezvous of a people scarce recovered from their fright at a place within four leagues of the enemy, for *Brixton* is no farther distant from *Hedington*; nor can it be reconciled to his design of surprizing the *Danes*, whose parties roving over the country, could not well help meeting some of *Alfred's* marching to the rendezvous: and those two places are too near one another to agree to the accounts of *Alfred's* march, who on the third day of it reached *Ethandune*. These reasons convince me, that this prince, having assembled his forces at *Brixton*, marched over the *Wiltſhire downs*, the forest of *Savernac* interposing between him and the enemy, till he came to one of the *Oakeley's* lying in the skirts of *Hampſhire*, about two leagues from *King's Clere*; which last place lyes on the edge of *Berks*, and is about the same distance from *Yattendun*, where the *Danes* were surprized and routed. One of their camps was probable on the top of an hill, called *Grimſbury* castle, where the round trenches still visible seem to be the remains of a *Danish* fortification.

³ *Affer*.

⁴ *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 4. *Ingulf*.

VII. WHETHER it was owing to a tenderness for the lives of their hostages, ALFRED. to their admiration and dread of *Alfred*, or to any influence of the *Christian* religion, He makes which their chiefs had embraced, and their followers heard daily preached, the peace with *Danes* observed this, better than they had done any of their former treaties. They them, and divided the country assigned them by lot, and each seeking to work for improving gains Mercia. his share, they built themselves houses, cultivated the ground, and being weaned from their roving and plundering humour, began to relish a quiet settled manner of life, and to provide for the subsistence of their families in a way of honest industry; which contributed much to their observance of a treaty, that debarred them equally from making depredations themselves, and from assisting any of their countrymen, who should attempt to commit them in *Alfred's* dominions. This prince derived great advantages from it in other respects; having secured to himself the quiet possession of all *Mercia*, by parting with a country scarce worth the keeping, being wasted in every quarter, and inhabited by a turbulent and seditious people, given to rapine, impatient of government, and continually breaking out into insurrections, whilst under the immediate rule of the *West-Saxon* princes. He married his daughter *Ethelfleda* to *Ethelred*, a nobleman of great qualities and abilities, and of as great authority among the *Mercians*, whom he put under their care: and these princes admirably seconded his endeavours for improving and fortifying the country, for establishing order, and for encouraging virtue and industry among the people. The *Danes* were now made denizens of *England*, and *Alfred* gave *Gothrum* a ¹ short code of laws for the government of his subjects: which seem chiefly designed for the propagation of the gospel among them; a point he had much at heart, and naturally tending to civilize a barbarous nation. Such were the provisions made, as well for observing the fasts and festivals of the church; for maintaining its possessions and privileges; for the payment of tythes and other dues of the clergy; as for preventing incestuous marriages, and abolishing all kinds of sorcery and divination; crimes to which the *Danes* were exceedingly addicted. The fixing of the bounds of the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, the not allowing any persons to rove about the country without express leave and letters dimissory; or any goods to be bought and sold, without proper vouchers to attest the seller's lawful possession of them, were calculated to put a stop to that rapine, to which the *East-Angles*, as well as the *Danes*, had been too much accustomed. These regulations had so good an effect, that though it was impracticable to hinder some disorderly persons from joining the parties of pirates that occasionally infested the coasts of *England*; yet none of these parties were ever suffered to land in the country of the *East-Angles*, nor did these last ever join them in a body, till after the death of *Gothrum*.

VII. ALFRED was now possessed of a greater extent of territory in *Britain* than A. D. 882. had ever been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; every potentate within the island courted his friendship, or desired his protection. The princes of *South-Wales* had submitted to him long before ²: and *Anarawd*, the eldest son of *Roderic* His care in *the Great*, and prince of *North-Wales*, waited upon him about this time with the improving his tender of his homage; professing to hold his principality of him on the same terms of subjection and obedience, as *Ethelred* did *Mercia*. The *Northumbrians* too, being by the death of *Haldene* left without an head, desired to receive a king from his hands: and he put over them *Guthred* ³, of a *Danish* race, but a *Saxon* by birth, and a *Christian*; whose benefactions to the church of *Durham* he con-

¹ *Lambard's Archaionom.* p. 36, 40.

² *Affer.*

³ *Sim. Dun.*

ALFRED. *firmed; such grants of vassals not being valid without the consent of the sovereign.* *Alfred* having no enemy to disturb the quiet of his reign, employed himself in cultivating the arts of peace, and in repairing the mischiefs which the ravages of the *Danes* had done in his country. Those pirates had burnt or demolished all publick buildings, churches, and monasteries wherever they came: and it is almost incredible, what a number of these he rebuilt, besides the new ones of *Hyde*, *Athelney*, and *Shaftsbury*, which he founded. All the great towns and cities in the kingdom had suffered in the like manner, and were in a miserable condition; scarce fit either for defence or habitation. These he repaired, adorned them with noble structures of squared stone, and strengthened them with good fortifications. *London* in particular rose by his munificence out of the ruins and desolation in which the *Danes* had left it; and being soon repeopled by his encouragement, and the good government of *Ethelred*, earl of *Mercia*, to whose special care the king had recommended it, it flourished in a short time to such a degree, that in a few years after his death, when *Danegeld* was established, it paid ten thousand five hundred pounds for its share, out of the eighty-two thousand pounds assessed upon all *England*¹. It was now fortified too well to dread the insults of the *Danes*; who had made it of late years their chief station, and found it a very convenient one for their purposes, as lying far within land, yet seated upon a navigable river. It was probably the like advantages of its situation, which determined *Alfred* to fix it for the place of the ordinary assemblies of the estates of his realms; which he appointed to be there held twice a year; thereby declaring it to be the metropolis of *England*.

In encourag-
ing learning.

IX. FOR the carrying on of these works, it was necessary to send for workmen from abroad, and the king gave such encouragement to artificers and persons of skill in all arts and sciences, in order to the instruction and employment of his subjects, that there was a vast resort hither from all the neighbouring parts of the continent, of the best masters in their several professions and business; who all received ample rewards from his royal bounty. There is nothing which he seems to have had more at heart, than the restoring of learning, which was reduced to a low ebb in this nation: where it had flourished not long before in so eminent a degree, that *Alcuin*² advised the Emperor *Charles the Great* to send over some of the *French* youth to *York*, as the fittest place for their education and improvement in knowledge. But the *Danes* had destroyed the monasteries, the universities of those days, massacred the *religious*, and burnt their libraries; so that the materials for study, and masters for instruction being both wanting, things were brought to such a pass, that, as *Alfred* complains in the preface to his translation of *Gregory's Pastorals*, "there were few on this side *Humber* able either to translate a piece of *Latin*, "or understand the liturgy in the *English* language." To repair these defects, the king sent for what learned men his own dominions afforded, to train up the young nobility and others about his court, where, according to the general custom of *Europe* in those days, they received their education; to translate, as he did himself³, useful and pious books for the instruction of the people; to compose, after his own and bishop *Aldhelm's* example, lessons of morality and religion, in verse, proverbs, and parables, for an help to the memory of those among whom they were dis-

¹ *Spelman's Vita Alfredi*, p. 128.

² *Malmesb. l. i. c. 3.*

³ *Ailredus Rievall (De genealogia regum Anglorum)* says, there was a collection of this king's parables extant in his time, very edifying as well as pleasant and entertaining; and there was pro-

bably one also of his proverbs and rhythmical compositions, as may be inferred from an imitation of it by the author of a bad poem in the *Cotton library*, some verses of which are published in *Alfred's* life by *Spelman*, p. 94.

perfed; and to cooperate in all other proper meafures to remove the ignorance of his fubjects. *Plegmund*, *Wulffig*, *Werefrið*, *Dunwulf*, and *Afferius Menevenfis*, the writer of his life, who all filled the firft dignities of the church, *Athelstan*, *Werwulf*, and the famous *St. Neot* are mentioned as being of this number: but thefe being not fufficient for the revival of learning all over the nation, *Alfred* employed his credit abroad for getting over a further fupply of men of learning, as well as books, from *France* and other foreign countries.

THE moft diftinguihed of thofe foreign profeffors, that came hither upon his invitation, were *Grimbald*, and *John Scotus Erigena*, who had lately wrote a treatife againft the corporal prefence in the eucharift. *Alfred* made ufe of thefe and their companions to erect a feminary for propagating learning in *England* to fucceeding ages. The place he pitched upon for it was *Oxford*, pleafantly and conveniently feated at the confluence of the *Thames* and *Charwell*, in a fruitful foil and healthy air, fecure from any infults of the *Danes*, by its diftance as well from the fea, as from their territories in *England*, and yet not above ten miles from his own court at *Wantage*, and in the centre of all his dominions. The *Britifh* coins found there, and the *Roman* roads leading thither, fhew it to have been a town of note in their times: and the fame advantages of fituation, in an age when fcarce any other part of *Britain* was fecure from the ravages of the *Piðts*, *Irifh-Scots*, and *Saxons*, might very well recommend it to *St. Germain*, for the feat of one of thofe fchools or feminaries, which he instituted not only in *Wales*, but in feveral other parts of this ifland. It was fo much the fafhion in thofe times for perfons defirous to be inftructed in religion and learning, to travel from one feminary to another, and to vifit eminent men in different countries (as we fee in all the lives of the *Britifh* faints in the fifth and fixth centuries) that there is nothing at all unlikely in what, *Camden's* copy of *Affer* fays, was undeniably proved by the testimony of ancient annals, that *Gildas*¹, *Kentigern*, and *Melkin* (who lived whilft it was in the hands of the *Britains*) had made it for fome time the place of their ftudies; as *Nennius* alfo did, after the *Saxons* had been converted to *Chriftianity*, and *Ina* had fettled a good correffpondence between them and the *Britains*. The advocates for an imaginary antiquity generally betray their caufe by advancing, in their eagernels to find a colour for their pretentions, fome facts inconfiftent with the hiftory or circumftances of ancient times, generally too dark, for the inventors of fabulous relations, to avoid miftakes when they treat thereof: yet nothing of this kind appears in what (*Affer* fays) was proved, as well as advanced, by the old mafters fettled at *Oxford* before the arrival of *Grimbald* and *Scotus*; with whom, out of a fondnefs for their former practice, they quarrelled about the new method, which they introduced, of inftruction. It is generally agreed that thefe two learned divines did teach at *Oxford*: and it is as certain, that they did retire thence; the one to *Alfred's* new monaftery at *Winchefters*; the other, to thofe of *Athelney* and *Malmesbury*, where they were ftill employed in the inftruction of youth; a feceffion, which gives no little countenance to the relation of the difpute which appears in *Affer*. If² *Alfred* is ftyled by fome writers the *founder* of that univerfity, of which others represent him only as the *reftorer*, this is no objection to there having been before at *Oxford*

¹ That *Gildas* ftudied at *Ichen*, i. e. *Oxford* (called in *Britifh* *Ryd-ichen*) is affirmed by the author of his life, publifhed from an ancient manufcript in *Biblioth. Floriac*. See *Selden's* not. in *Polyolbion*, p. 1837.

² I take no notice of the difficulties ftarted by fome people, on account of *Oxford's* being thought to lye in the divifion of *Mercia*, becaufe they are evidently founded upon miftakes or uncertainties. For *Oxford* and *Gloucefter* fhires never made any

part of the *Mercian* territories till *A. D.* 775, when they were reduced by *Offa*, and continued but forty-eight years under their dominion, i. e. till *A. D.* 823, when they were reconquered by *Egbert*. It is very reafonable to think, that from this recovery of thefe counties, they were reunited to the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, who had firft peopled them; and I have not obferved any paffage in our old hiftorians that clafhes with this notion.

ALFRED.

schools formed on the plan of those of *St. Germain*, *Dubricius*, and *Ilut*, or set up by particular masters, without any stipend or emolument from the publick. This king probably followed *Charle-Magne's* example, in settling such stipends upon professors; but to make some improvement of that Emperor's plan, he was undoubtedly the first that provided for their pupils; founding three halls (or colleges, such as they generally have in foreign parts) one for each of the sciences of grammar, philosophy, and theology, with a maintenance for twenty-six scholars in each hall, and rules or statutes for the conduct of the students, and regulation of their hours of prayer and study'. It was the incorporation of these three halls into one college, which procured it the name of *university*; a term, at this time, first invented to express such a body corporate: and nothing of this kind having been known before in *Europe*, *Alfred*, who thus provided for the eternal duration of his seminary, might justly, though there were schools in the place before, be deemed the founder of that body corporate, which is called the *university*. As this consisted for a long time, like that of *Dublin*, only of one college, thence called *university college*, of which *Alfred* was, in all ages, deemed the *founder* (for which reason it hath of late been judicially determined, after a solemn hearing, that the crown is the visitor of it) and as his institution soon put an end to the schools of private tutors, which had subsisted before without the advantages of this wise king's regulation and benefactions, it is no wonder, that he should acquire the title of founder of the university of *Oxford*.

In managing
his revenue.

X. To support these expences, it behoved him to be a good œconomist of his revenue; which he divided into two moieties²: and these he subdivided, the one into three, the other into four parts. Out of the former moiety, which was appropriated to secular uses, he applied one part, to maintain not only his guards and army, but also the officers and servants of his court and household, of which he had three sets, which attended each a month throughout the year in their several courses. The other two parts were employed, one to pay the innumerable company of workmen, which he had got from different nations, to carry on his buildings; the other in presents to the prodigious number of strangers, which resorted to his court from foreign countries. The second moiety, he dedicated to God, and distributed one fourth of it to the poor of all nations, that flocked to him; another to the convents of his own foundation; the third to the school, or university, which he had founded for the education of the young nobility of *England*; and the last was generally given to the monasteries in the *West-Saxon* and *Mercian* territories, subject immediately to his own government, but in some years, it was disposed of, in their several turns, to foreign monasteries lying in *Wales*, *Cornwall*, *France*, *Bretagne*, the country of the *Northumbrians*, and sometimes also to those of *Ireland*. Regularity and œconomy are generally uniform: and *Alfred* was the same good manager of his time, that he was of his revenue. Of the twenty-four hours of the day, notwithstanding the piles, which plagued him in a terrible manner from the twentieth to the forty-fifth year of his age, he assigned only eight to the care of his health, to be spent in sleep, meals, and exercise: and he employed the other sixteen, one half in writing, reading, and prayer, the other in dispatching the affairs of his kingdom. He was so exact in keeping to these proportions and allotments of his time, that he measured them by tapers of an equal size; which were always kept burning before the shrines of relicks, that were carried along with him wherever he travelled: and to prevent their being affected by the wind, or other accidents, he invented horn lanterns, that he might be sure of their consuming in an equal degree.

¹ *Spelman's Vit. Alfredi*, p. 107, 148, &c.

² *Affer*.

XI. ALFRED'S zeal for religion and the encouragement of learning, did not abate any thing of his care for the defence of his kingdom; he provided for it in the midst of the peace which his realms enjoyed, by the wisest expedients that human prudence and his admirable genius could suggest. He had observed, that the *English*, in their impatience of being plundered, and eagerness for fighting the enemy in the open field, had so much neglected garrisons and fortifications, that there was scarce a fortress in all the country, where they could rendezvous till all their forces came up, or put their persons and goods with safety¹. To remedy this defect, which the people saw and lamented, yet could not be prevailed on (as *Asser* says) by any persuasions or orders to do any thing towards redressing (though the king had directed the proper places where forts should be erected) till they actually felt the calamities arising from their neglect; he erected abundance of castles on the sea coasts, and on the banks of large rivers, to obstruct the *Danes* in their sudden descents and incursions. The number of these is not certainly known, but it is computed, that he built fifty castles of this kind, in different parts of the dominions under his immediate care; the like precaution being, either after his example, or by his directions, taken by *Ethelred* and *Ethelfleda* in *Mercia*. The *Danes* were old soldiers, trained and exercised continually in war, and had the same advantage over the hasty and unexperienced levies of the *English*, as a body of regular troops hath over an undisciplined militia. To put his own forces upon a level with the enemy, and to do it with as little inconvenience as was possible to his subjects, whose ease he consulted in all his measures; *Alfred* divided all the military part of them, that were grown up and fit for service, into two corps²; one of which was kept in constant duty in garrison, whilst the other staid at home to mind their country affairs, and were exercised only on festival days, but relieving one another by turns; so that all, by this alternate practice of discipline, becoming handy in the use of their arms, and expert in all warlike exercises and operations, they heard the news of the approach of an enemy, without terror, and fought him with assurance of success. For the speedier drawing together the part of his forces which remained at home, he appointed governors or lord-lieutenants in each province, distinguishing the particular bounds thereof, within which, upon the firing of beacons (which seems to have been his institution) or upon other signals and notice, all this part of his militia were, without further orders, to march immediately to the place appointed for a rendezvous on such occasions. There the governor was ready to head and lead them to that tract of coast or country, which he had it in his charge to defend: and every person, in all parts, knowing his particular duty, and the district wherein he was to act, an army of experienced soldiers was assembled with wonderful expedition, sufficient to make head against the *Danes*, wherever they landed.

ALFRED.

In providing
for the de-
fence of his
kingdom.

It is much to be lamented, that none of our historians have given us a detail of the particular regulations under which *Alfred* put this militia, nor of the rules which (*Malmesbury*³ tells us) he laid down for their military discipline; we might else probably have thought proper to revive them, and have found, by experience, such a corps much fitter to defend an island, as well as less expensive and burdensome to the nation, than a standing army. This great king, great in his mind, in his talents, and in all his actions, apprehended no danger, and found no inconvenience, in having all his subjects armed and versed in military discipline: he loved his country and its liberties; he desired, with an heart truly *English*, to have *all his*

¹ *Spelman's Vit. Alfredi*, p. 129.² *Ib.* p. 43, 108.³ L. ii. c. 4. *Leges quibus sui militari discipline allueferent.*

ALFRED. *people* (to use the strong expression of his last will) *as free as their own thoughts*, and exerted his excellent capacity for putting them in a proper way of defending their liberties. He had, in the manner above related, assigned every one his post, for the security of the country; but yet, to be still better provided against any surprise, in a time of continual alarms, he kept a select body of *West-Saxons* and *Old Britains* about his person, always ready to march with him to any place, where his own presence became necessary; though this was rarely the case, after he had established the regulations above-mentioned; the good effects thereof will soon appear. It was perhaps to encourage a martial spirit in his people, that he revived the ancient custom of delivering arms to young gentlemen, when grown up to be fit for service in war; which was done with great solemnity, and universally practised (as *Tacitus* says) among the *German* nations. There is no doubt but the *Saxons* used it as well as others, whilst they continued in their original country: but there is not in any one of our historians the least trace of this practice among them after their settlement in *Britain*, till the time of this king; whose knighting his grandson *Athelstan* with the ceremonies of putting on him a scarlet vest, and girding him with a belt set with gems, to which a *Saxon* sword was pendant, is mentioned by *Malmesbury*¹, and quoted by him from a much ancients writer. It was probably the Emperor *Charle-Magne's* knighting his son *Louis*, by putting a sword about him, in *A. D.* 791, at *Renefburg*², and the same *Louis* doing the like honour, and with the same ceremony, to his son *Charles the Bald* in *A. D.* 837, which put *Alfred* in mind of reviving that ancient institution in *England*.

THIS prince had a genius, that made him master of every subject, to which he applied his thoughts: of this we have a remarkable instance in the management of his navy; which he improved not so much by the skill of his *Frisian* seamen, as by his own observations and ingenuity. It was the object of his particular care; and he went on board it himself to see every thing settled to his mind, and to consider what military engines might be of use in a sea-fight; which he provided accordingly. Cannon was not then invented, and there was little benefit to be drawn from the working of ships; in a time when there was no fighting at a distance, nor before they grappled, that the seamen might engage hand to hand, and on firm ground, as in the land service; so that all depended on the bravery of the combatants, and on the height and strength of the vessels. *Alfred* had from the first contrived his shipping, so as to be superior in these respects to that of the *Danes*; and having beaten them in every engagement in the open sea, they durst not attempt to make a descent on his dominions unless by stealth, and on parts where his fleet was not stationed: but they had still some lighter vessels, which under the conduct of *Sigefert*³, a *Northumbrian* chieftain, exercised piracy; and having done a good deal of mischief, escaped by the swiftness of their sailing. The king hereupon invented a new kind of ship of the nature of a galley, longer, larger, and steadier than the *Danish* vessels, as well as higher, at least at the stern and on the foredeck; whence his men could lance their javelins, as from the higher ground, with greater force upon the enemy, and yet, by the advantage of their oars, of which they had generally sixty, able notwithstanding their size to come up at any time⁴, whenever they had depth of water, with the rovers. These galleys, in a short time, took twenty of their privateers: and all of the crews, that were found on board, being either put to the sword, or hanged, as enemies to mankind, the pirates, finding nothing but destruction where they expected profit, soon quitted their profession, and left *Alfred* entire master of the sea, without a rival to dispute with him that empire, which the *English* have ever since asserted in the channel.

¹ L. ii. c. 6.² Vit. Lud. Pii.³ Vit. Alfred. p. 13, 110.⁴ Chr. Sax. p. 98.

He had a fleet of an hundred and twenty of these ships of war: and it may not be ALFRED. improper here to observe, that he took a like care of the trading vessels of his subjects; which were reformed by his directions, so as to be much better failors, as well as more commodious for commerce. This he encouraged to such a degree, that *Affer* celebrates the wealth that abounded in his realm; and gems, spices, with other oriental goods, were imported hither from the *East-Indies*¹. It was with jewels brought from thence, that the crown was adorned which he used to wear on solemn occasions (as his successors afterwards did at the great festivals, when they sat in their court of barons) and which (though perhaps altered somewhat in its fashion since his time) is reputed to be that kept among the *regalia* in *Westminster Abbey*.

XII. ENGLAND had been free for some years from any invasion of the *Danes*; New invasion of the Danes. when at the latter end of *A. D.* 893², a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail brought an army of them from *France* to the coast of *Kent*; where landing near *Rye*, they seized the fort of *Apuldore*: and *Hasting*, with another body, coming up the *Thames*, landed and fortified *Milton* in the same county. This expedition was probably undertaken upon an invitation from the people of the *East-Angles*; who, though they had taken an oath of fidelity to *Alfred*, after the death of their king *Gotburn*³, which happened in *A. D.* 890, were not yet so generally reconciled to a quiet life, but that great numbers of them longed to return to their former custom of depredations, and were ready to join with any invader. There was another accident which favoured the *Danes* in this attempt; for *Guthred*, king of the *Northumbrians*⁴, dying not long after their landing, their countrymen in those parts were ready to give them all the assistance in their power. These succours did not balance the disadvantages they felt from *Alfred's* late regulations; they found a very different face of affairs, in the country, from what they had ever observed before: no general terror spread upon their arrival among the people, and communicated by them to the soldiery, but bodies of well disciplined men, every where in arms, to attack them, whenever an opportunity offered. They could not send out a party to plunder, but it was cut off; so that they were forced to immure themselves within their camps all the time of their stay; without daring to make any incursions about the country. Thus they passed the winter: and in the spring, being still more streightened in both their camps by *Alfred's* advancing against them in person at the head of his army, those of *Apuldore* made a hasty march to get to the *Thames*; where their ships, which they had probably sent after their landing to the ports of the *East-Angles* for security, were to meet and waft them over into *Essex*. The king was too vigilant to let them execute their scheme without opposition: and having advice of their march early enough to intercept their way at *Farnham* near *Ailesford*, defeated them there, and took all their baggage. Such as escaped from the battle, got to their ships; and being carried up the *Colne*, fortified themselves at *Bricklesy* in *Essex*: as *Hasting*, having quitted *Milton*, did also at *Beamsley*, near the *Isle of Canvey* in the same county.

The *Northumbrians*⁵, in the mean time, had fitted out a fleet of an hundred and forty ships: and to make a diversion in favour of the *Danes*, had landed in *Devonshire*, and invested *Exeter*. The king, upon advice thereof, leaving his guards at *London*, and dismissing the corps he had commanded, whose six months of service was expired, hastened to put himself at the head of the fresh corps, which was now to enter upon duty; and marched to raise the siege. The *Danes*, on his

¹ *Malmesb. De pontif. l. ii. Vit. Alfred. p. 158.*

² *S. m. Dunelm. Hist. Eccl. Dun. c. 29.*

³ *Chr. Sax. 893.*

⁴ *Ib. A. D. 890.*

⁵ *Chr. Sax. A. D. 894. Flor. Wig.*

ALFRED. approach, retired to their ships: and having made a fruitless attempt upon *Chichester*, joined *Hasting* at *Beamflete*; who thus reinforced, ventured, whilst *Alfred* was as yet at a distance, to make an incursion into the borders of *Mercia*. The king's troops at *London*, taking advantage of the *Danish* general's absence, attacked *Beamflete*; and carrying the place by storm, made his wife and two sons prisoners; whom *Alfred* afterwards, with a magnanimity that is a reproach to later times, sent back to him with a message, *That he did not make war upon women and Christians*; the two children having been baptized. *Hasting*, upon this disaster, fortified *Shobury*, in the *Hundreds of Essex*, and nearer the mouth of the *Thames* than *Beamflete*: but not caring to wait there for *Alfred's* return from the *West*, marched with his forces along the *Thames*, till he drew near the *Severne*; and then along this last named river, till he got to *Buttington* in *Shropshire*; in hopes perhaps of being joined by the *Welsh-Britains*. The king's generals did not allow him time to be reinforced: but blocking up the place immediately, reduced the *Danes* to such extremity, that they were forced to eat their horses, and some of them died of famine. Necessity and despair put them upon forcing their way through the *English* that beleaguered them, and though they were defeated with great slaughter in the attempt, yet some of them got off and escaped by flight to the *East-Angles*. There they raised a fresh body of forces: and being reinforced also by the *Northumbrians*, made another push to get into *Wales*; marching night and day through *Mercia*, till they reached *Chester*, with such expedition, that the king's army, though they cut off some stragglers, could not come up with them, till they had intrenched themselves in the place, which was then without inhabitants. It was not the time of year for a siege: and the *English*, contenting themselves with driving away the cattle, and carrying off all the provisions in the neighbourhood, left them there to pass the winter.

THE *Danes* made a shift with some preys, that they took in *Wales*¹, to subsist, though with difficulty, during that season: but not daring either to wait the assembling of the *English* army, or to attempt a passage through *Mercia*, retired early in the following spring into the *Northumbrian* territories, and from thence got back at last to the country of the *East-Angles*; there they seem to have remained quiet for some time, being strongly intrenched in the *Isle of Mersey*: but advancing at the latter end of the year towards the borders of *Mercia*, they took post at *Hertford* on the *Ley*, which was the boundary of that kingdom on the side of the *East-Angles*. In this place they erected two forts, one on each side of the river, for the security of their ships, which they had drawn up the stream: and maintained them the next year² against an unsuccessful attack of the *Londoners*. But *Alfred* coming up with his army, and viewing the nature of the ground and the situation of their camps, which were not tenable without the defence of the river and the supply of its water, found out an easy way of dislodging them, by turning the course of the stream; which left their ships a ground on a sudden. The *Pagans* hereupon quitting their forts and ships, which became a prey to the *Londoners*, fled in all haste towards the *Severne*: and fortified themselves at *Quatbridge*, now probably *Bridgenorth*, being pursued thither by *Alfred*. Thus hunted, distressed, disheartened, they resolved to quit *England*: and retiring into the country of the *Northumbrians*, got shipping among their friends, and went back to *Normandie*, poor, necessitous, and exceedingly lessened in their numbers, after passing three years in this island, without having taken one fortified town, or made one successful incursion. *Alfred*, after their departure, found no difficulty in reducing the *East-Angles* and the *Northumbrians*; whom he would no longer indulge with a sub-

¹ *ib.* A. D. 895.² A. D. 896.

ordinate king of their own: and became thereby the first monarch of *England*, ALFRED that had all the different provinces of the heptarchy under his immediate subjection. This allowed him to put in execution the schemes he had formed for the common good of his people, to establish the best order and the wisest *police*, that perhaps human prudence ever invented, throughout all his dominions.

XIII. IT is very reasonable to think, that when he settled the order before-mentioned for opposing the invasions of the *Danes*; and assigned all his officers their respective posts, he fixed likewise the several districts wherein they were to act: and made a partition of the provinces of which the *West-Saxon* and *Mercian* kingdoms, both under his immediate subjection, were composed. This he now compleated, extending it over his new conquests; and divided all *England*, as *Ingulf*¹ and other writers agree, into counties, *hundreds*, and *tythings*. Some mention² another subdivision of counties into three portions, called thence, *tritthings* (corruptly *ridings*) *latbes*, and *rapes*, consisting of several hundreds: but this doth not appear to have taken place generally, and there are no traces of it, except in some maritime counties, which were made larger than others for the better opposing of the descents of the enemy: and however convenient such a subdivision might be on that account, it doth not seem to have been of much use in the point of civil judicature, or at least it did not long subsist. No ancient writer hath given us a list of the names of these counties, which hath occasioned a difference in the account of their number, whether thirty-two³, thirty-five⁴, or thirty-eight⁵, as first settled: but whatever the number originally was, they are now, by the addition of *Durham* (then the property of the church and subject to the bishop of the see) and of *Cornwall*, not fully reduced at that time, swelled up to forty; exclusive of *Wales*, which had, by its own kings, been lately divided into three provinces, and probably much earlier, into *cantrefs*, or *hundreds*. Some are apt to imagine, that though *Alfred* was undoubtedly the author of the subdivisions into *hundreds* and *tythings*, yet counties were ancients than his time; and ground their conjecture upon a law⁶ of king *Ina*, by which an alderman, who let a robber escape out of his custody, was to be punished with the loss of his *shire*, and on the word *alderman's* being by later writers rendered in *Latin*, *comes*. The *Englisch* term for that office is *earl*, derived from the *Danish*, *Jarl*; as the chieftains of *clans*, whether they governed their territories by a natural independent authority, or were reduced to pay homage to some more powerful prince, were usually styled in *Norway* and other parts of *Scandinavia*. In *England*, the term *alderman* was only a title of office, into which a person was put for the government of a district assigned him, in civil and military affairs: but his district was greater or less, according to the king's favour and opinion of his capacity; and he was removeable at his majesty's pleasure. Such districts, for the exercise of either the royal authority by an alderman, or for that of some particular lord, were called⁷ *shires*: and thus we find the name of *Hexham-*

He divides
England into
counties, &c.

¹ P. 870. ² *Engl. Ant. Vit. Alfredi*, p. 77.

³ *Chron. Melitres.* ⁴ *Hunt.*

⁵ *Bibl. Cæsar. Faustina*, E. 5. ⁶ *I.*, 36.

⁷ It is very certain, that many of those shires were much less than counties: such as *Hallamshire*, *Ridmaldshire*, *Skegodshire*, and *Triconshire*, which last is mentioned in *Alfred's* will, and is supposed to lye in *Somerfetshire*, though perhaps it might be the north-east part of *Cornwall*, running from *Stratton*, on the borders of *Devon*, to *Wardbridge*, in the *Hundred of Trig*, which might, as being a new conquest, require a particular disposition of it to his eldest son *Edward*, who succeeded him in the kingdom. For, that *Alfred* had subdued a great part of

Cornwall, appears from what *Ajfer* relates of his being cured of a sickness, whilst he was at his prayers in the church of *St. Guerir*, near *Leiland*, and from a bishop's see being soon after his death, in *A. D.* 905, erected at *Bodmin*. Thus *Ethelred*, father-in-law to *Alfred*, was *comes Gantonum* (*Angl. S. i.* 207.) who inhabited a tract of country about *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*. In the battle of *Ellef-croft*, near *York*, *A. D.* 867, no fewer than eight *Northumbrian comites* were killed by the *Danes*; and yet, in all probability, there were a great many more either not present or not slain in that battle; and these eight are more than the counties of which the kingdom of *Northumberland* then consisted.

ALFRED. *shire* given to the south-west part of *Northumberland*, belonging in property to the church of *Hexham*, and subject to its jurisdiction, without any interfering of the king's alderman. But these were very different as well in their extent, as in the continual variation of that extent, from the counties; the bounds whereof were first settled by *Alfred*, to continue the same invariably through succeeding ages. It is very likely that he made this division, after he had taken a survey of all the manors and hydes throughout his dominions; which serving for a *notitia* of his kingdom was drawn up in a book called the *Roll of Winton*, from its being lodged in the archives of that place, where the *West-Saxon* kings usually resided: and being perhaps better instructed thereby in the lands belonging to the several proprietors mentioned in it, than in the situation of particular places, or else paying a greater regard to the former consideration, allotted to some counties, in which the chief seat of a nobleman and the bulk of his lands lay, several hamlets, which, by their position, seem fitter to have been annexed to others, with which they lye intermixed, and in some cases surrounded.

His police
and regula-
tions for ad-
ministering
justice.

XIV. THE division of counties into hundreds¹ and tythings, served for introducing the new method of justice and police established by *Alfred*. The nobility in *England* had hitherto administered justice among their vassals and tenants within their own territories; as their ancestors in the days of ² *Tacitus* had done in *Germany*; the bishops, monasteries, and collegiate churches did the same upon their lands³, and they were answerable for the bringing of their vassals and servants to the judgment of the law, or for paying the fines affixed to their crimes; in case they absconded from justice, and their effects were not sufficient to answer the penalty. All other freeholders and *ingenui* answered in like manner for their slaves; and their causes were cognizable before the bishop of the diocese and alderman of the shire, who sat together in the same court: the one judging in ecclesiastical, the other in civil cases; but notwithstanding this regulation, an infinite number of rapines and disorders were daily committed. To prevent these, *Alfred* instituted⁴ tythings, so called, because ten freeholders with their families were formed into a distinct body, and were all pledges to the king for the good behaviour of one another (as each⁵ of them was for that of his respective family and lodgers, in case they staid above two nights in his house) and obliged, in case of any breach of the peace or other crime, to have the offender forthcoming; or if he fled, to purge themselves, as in no wise consenting to his guilt or flight, or else to⁶ pay his forfeiture. Every free person was in the nature of an outlaw, if he did not enter himself in one of these tythings; nor could he remove to any other place, or be there received, without a certificate from his own tything; if he was admitted, without such a testimonial, to dwell in any town, it was finable at the king's mercy. One of the ten freeholders presided over the other nine, being termed the *tything-man*, *beadborgh*, or *borsholder*⁷; and called them together to take cognizance of smaller matters and disputes among neighbours in the same tything; but in causes of greater weight, and regarding persons in different tythings, the presidents, or *borsholders* of the ten nearest tythings, chosen from among themselves, met to decide it; being assisted in judgment by a person learned in the law, termed a *dean*, and appointed by the king's council. The ordinary courts of the hundred were

¹ They were called also *Friborgs*, from *Bork*, or *Borgh*, in *Danish*, a pledge, and *Friborgh*, because they were all freemen; whence the word *neighbour*, i. e. a pledge near at hand.

² *De mor. Germ.* ³ *LL. S. Edw.* 21.

⁴ These were in some counties called *Wapentacks*, from the form of receiving the dean, or pre-

sident appointed by the king, who erecting his lance (or weapon) all the tything men touched it with theirs. The *Danes* gave the name of *Waarbretach* to those of a country, who went into the field together, and served under the same commanders: *Vit. Alfredi*, p. 74.

⁵ *LL. S. Edw.* 27.

⁶ *LL.* 20.

⁷ *LL.* 32. held

held once a ¹ month for determining appeals from the decisions of particular *friborghs*, and other matters subject to their cognizance; and to these the *bundreders*, six days before they were held, summoned all the *friborghs* within the hundred: and twelve of the most considerable and judicious freeholders were sworn with him ² to judge uprightly in all causes that came before them, to condemn no innocent person, nor acquit any that were guilty; their sentence being generally styled the judgment of the ³ country. Once a year (and if necessary, twice) there was held an extraordinary assembly of the *bundred*, called a *view of frankpledge*, or *court leet*, to which all persons (except the nobility and clergy) of twelve ⁴ years of age, whether freeholders, or other free inhabitants, or strangers, were obliged to come, to shew in what *friborgh* they were entered, and to take an oath of fealty to the king: and there a strict inquest was made into all neglects of that kind; into the number and conduct of the members of the several tythings ⁵; into all breaches of the peace, murders, misdemeanors, *treasure trove*, wrecks; into every thing contrary to good manners; into all acts detrimental to the king, or in fraud of his revenue; as well as into grievances, which the subject suffered from his officers ⁶. There was always a *justice*, skilled both in divine and human laws, appointed by the king in these *leets*, who was to take care of the rights of the crown, particularly of his revenue, a considerable part of which arose from the forfeitures incurred by the breach of laws, and to give his judgment in the decision of causes. There were likewise two courts, of the whole county, called the *sheriff's turns*, held twice a year, after *Easter* and *Michaelmas*; in which were determined some weightier matters, exempt from the cognizance of inferior judicatures, and causes between persons living in different hundreds. They examined likewise into what had been done in the lower courts; heard appeals from their decisions; and revoked them, if erroneous. In these county courts, the bishop and earl, or their deputies, termed *vicedomini* or *vidames*, to whom they delegated their authority on occasion, had always presided and determined all matters: but now a *sheriff*, constantly resident to take care of his county, was appointed with an independent power; and without any commission from either of them, ordinarily exercised his presidial authority. It only remains to be observed, that an appeal lay from these county courts to the king, who sat in person to hear causes; and that the same method of *frankpledges* or *friborghs* which was established in the country, was observed likewise in *burroughs*; where ⁷ a court, or *burghmote*, was held thrice a year for determining all causes between the inhabitants. Such was the order and method of the *police* and judicature established by *Alfred* throughout his dominions.

THERE certainly never was a more effectual course taken for the preventing and punishing of all murders, robberies, breaches of the peace, and all crimes whatever, than was provided for by this institution of *frankpledges*; which made every liegeman in the kingdom a surety for his neighbour's conduct, and interested him in the prosecution of the guilty. A man had little temptation to commit a crime, when all his neighbours were, for their own sakes, obliged to find him out, and he was sure of being discovered and punished. He could not wander to another country, and practise any iniquity there; because he could not be lodged and entertained without a certificate from the headburrough of his own tything ⁸; for if he was of none, he was obliged to enter into the service of some master, who would answer for him, or if he was of so ill a character that no body would take him for a servant, he had nothing to do, but to quit the realm, since if he did not

¹ LL. Edw. Sen. c. 11. LL. H. i. c. 7, 8.
LL. Ethelfredi, c. 4. in Brompton, p. 896.

² Fœdus Alfredi & Guthurn, c. 3. LL. Athelstan.
c. 11. ³ LL. viii. H. i. ⁴ LL. Canut. 19.

⁵ Pit. Alfredi, p. 74.

⁶ LL. H. i. c. 8.

⁷ LL. Edgar. c. 5. LL. Canut. c. 17.

⁸ LL. Athelstan. c. 2.

ALFRED.

produce his *pledges* on demand, he¹ was put to death, and buried in a profane place, like a publick robber. These regulations had such a wonderful effect, that in a short time there was no such thing as a robbery, breach of the peace, publick offence, or private injury to be heard of; every body, even maidens unaccompanied, travelled the roads without danger of any insult², and the king, for an experiment, causing bracelets of gold to be hung up in the high-ways, no body durst offer to touch them, or even take up the purse of a private man, if he had dropt it on the road, and suffered it to lye there for a month unfought. A good deal of this however must be ascribed to *Alfred's*³ vigilance; who took care to see his laws put in execution, and examined with great strictness into the conduct of all his ministers and judges; calling them to account for all their decisions, punishing them severely if they had perverted justice out of favour, hatred, or avarice; and removing them, if they erred out of mere ignorance. The old book, entituled the *Mirroure of justices*, revised in the time of *Edward I*, by *Andrew Horne*, recites many instances of this severity.

THE order, settled in the several judicatures which he erected, was of infinite benefit and satisfaction to his people. They were before continually complaining of the oppression and unjust decisions of the earls⁴ and their deputies; who had their own interest more at heart than the publick good: and having no friend but the king, no opinion of the rectitude of any one's judgment but his, they never acquiesced in any sentence, till they had applied to him for redress; so that too much of his time was taken up in hearing causes, till he removed the occasions of such appeals by the above-mentioned regulations. Finding abundance of complaints to arise from the ignorance of the earls and his other ministers, who were generally illiterate, he expressed his amazement that any had the impudence to take upon them trusts and offices which they were not qualified to discharge: and obliged them all either to apply themselves to learning and the acquiring of that knowledge which was necessary to fit them for their posts, or else to quit their dignities and officers. The earls were before absolute masters of their counties, having all the civil as well as military power in their hands; which enabled them to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to raise insurrections that put the crown in danger: but the case was much altered by the civil jurisdictions being exercised ordinarily by a sheriff; who had no dependance on them, and having a co-ordinate power with them, saved them the trouble of attending to any thing but the *militia*⁵; of which they retained indeed the principal command, but had no power to appoint or remove the inferior officers. The people in general found their chief grievances redressed: and received great ease, by having justice administered at their own homes by judges of the neighbourhood, fully acquainted with the true state of causes, and in not being forced to have recourse to the king's court upon every occasion. For the better instruction and direction of those judges, he made a collection of such judgments and reports as he thought most equitable; which (as appears from *Horne*⁶) was extant in the time of *Edward I*, and made use of in the courts of law at *Westminster*; nor was its authority there laid aside, even in the time of *Edward IV*, as *Harding* attests in his *Chronicle*⁷.

XV. THERE is some reason to think that *Alfred* drew up a compleat body of laws, which, with the advice of his council, he published to form the minds and

¹ *Ethelredi*, c. 5.² *Spelman*, *Vit. Alfredi*, p. 82. *Inglulf.*³ *Alfer. De gest. Alfridi.*⁴ *ib.*⁵ *Vita Alfredi*, p. 120, 121.⁶ *Mirroir des justices*, c. 2. § 13.

manners of his people¹: It was collected, as well out of the laws of God and nations, as from the constitutions of former *Saxon* kings, and the customs observed among the various nations that inhabited *Britain*; which might possibly give occasion to the name of *common law*, when it came to be observed by them all in common, now united under his dominion; or at least the general rules and maxims, laid down therein, might serve for a foundation to what is at this day usually understood by that term. But this hath undergone the same fate as his *book of reports*; there being no copy of either extant, and all that is left of his laws, being a fragment of some, which he made in the beginning of his reign, when he was king only of the *West-Saxons*: whereas the others were probably established *A. D.* 887², when having repeopled *London*, he appointed it for the place of holding the ordinary assemblies of the *great council* of the nation. It appears from the preface to them, that he had revised all the *West-Saxon*, *Kentish*, and *Mercian* laws; had rejected many, and adopted all that he and his council had thought fit to be observed. This looks as if he proposed these last, for a compleat body of laws to his subjects: yet nothing that deserves such a title, hath as yet been discovered; though some particular laws, omitted in *Whelock's* collection, are mentioned by historians³, and *Lambard* was once in hopes of discovering others. Most of those which are preserved, relate to breaches of the peace and the injuries of private persons to one another; and the fines and satisfactions for each offence are proportioned, as well to the measure of the injury, as to the rank of the person injured, and fixed in so particular a manner, that it was out of the power of the judges, either to moderate or enhance them; *Alfred* probably thinking it dangerous to entrust them with a discretionary power in such cases. He observes that the *Saxon* princes, out of a *Christian* clemency, had affixed only pecuniary penalties to crimes, except in the case of a vassal's betraying or deserting his lord, which was a capital offence: and there are very few crimes, which he thought fit, upon the first offence⁴, to punish otherwise; such as sacrilege, the spreading of false rumors, and the rape of a servant maid by a fellow servant; which perhaps, because they were more frequently perpetrated than others, were guarded against by the severer⁵ penalties of amputation of the hand in the first, cutting out the tongue in the second; and castration in the third instance. The designing or making an attempt on the king's life was punished with death, and the forfeiture of all the goods of the traitor. The penalty was the same on a vassal guilty of the like offence against his lord; whose rights and authority over his dependants such care was taken to preserve, that in the very law which presses a strict observance of oaths, it is declared, that if any of them were compelled on any occasion to take an unjust oath to his prejudice, it was⁶ much rather to be broken than kept. There is still another law deserving notice and relating to entails, by which a person possessed of *Bookland*, or an estate of inheritance, derived from his ancestors and passing by deed or writing, was disabled from alienating it or disinheriting the heir, if it appeared either by written or living testimony, that the original donor intended it should continue in the family. All the rest relate to criminal matters: and it is very plain from the whole tenour of them, that they were enacted before *Alfred* had settled the above-mentioned regulations for the *police* and government of his kingdom.

THESE regulations seem to me to have been made, when the kingdom of *Mercia* was added to the *West-Saxon* dominions, soon after his treaty with *Guthrum*, and at the same time with his military constitutions, and that they con-

¹ *Chron. J. Wellingford.*² *Chron. Petriburg. A. D.* 887.³ *LL. Aluredi.*⁴ *Preface to his Laws. LL. vi.* 28. 25.⁵ *LL. iv.*⁶ *LL. i.*

ALFRED. tributed equally with these, to the good order, quiet, union, and regular exerting of its strength, which appeared in the people of that kingdom, when *Hasting* with his *Danes* either marched through parts of it, or lay upon its borders, for five years together (as above related) without being joined in all that time by any of the inhabitants, or being able to raise any insurrection or disturbance in the country. Whenever they were made, it was proper they should be accompanied with a completer body of laws, than hath as yet appeared under the name of *Alfred*, and with some directions for putting them in execution; considering the ignorance which prevailed generally over all parts of *England*.

ASSER takes notice of the great difficulties which *Alfred* met with in the measures he took for the administration of justice, arising as well from the negligence and selfishness of the nobility, as from the want of knowledge and learning in all that were employed under him in any office. To remedy this defect, he obliged them all to apply themselves to the study of those points of knowledge, which were necessary to qualify them for their posts: and to provide a succession of able men to fill them, he passed a law (which is quoted by *Spelman*¹ from *Ailred of Rieval*) “enjoining all freeholders, whose estates amounted to two hydes of land or more, to send their children to school, till they were sixteen years old, “to be bred up in a way of learning.” But as knowledge is not acquired, nor doth learning become general in an instant, when *Alfred* erected such a prodigious number of judicatures, as were formed on the dividing of his kingdoms into counties, hundreds, and tythings, it was absolutely necessary for him, not only to settle the forms of writs (if any were used at that time) and to select a number of approved judgments and reports, but also to put into writing the principal rules or maxims of the common law, and communicate them to the sheriffs, coroners, or justices, and other officers that sat in those judicatures; with proper instructions for applying them in all cases. This was done in the *Dome-boc* or *Liber judicialis*, as it is called by king *Edward the Elder* (the son and immediate successor of this *Alfred* who composed it) in the *Preface* to his laws, “where-
“in he enjoins all his reeves and ministers that had any charge in the state, to
“judge equitably according to the directions of that book, to which they were
“to adhere strictly in all cases.” The same book fixed the fines or amercements to be laid upon offenders; as appears from the eighth law of the same prince: which leaves room to presume, that it contained a compleat body of laws; because in the *Saxon* times, there are very few instances to be given of laws, the breach whercof was not punished by pecuniary penalties. It seems likewise to have contained an abridgment of the *Common law*, *i. e.* of such usages and customs as had been observed in all ages among the *English*, without being enjoined by any particular statutes, or committed to writing, till *Alfred's* time, but varying in different places, and according to the different conditions of persons. This diversity was removed by *Alfred's* selecting out of them such as he judged most equitable and beneficial to his people, and digesting them into a body of *common law*, to be observed uniformly by all his subjects. This *Horne*² looked upon as extremely beneficial to the nation; and therefore among other advantages and conveniencies which he represents of this prince's regulations, he observes, that “the sheriffs of counties, and the bai-
“liffs of hundreds, assembling the freeholders of their respective bailiwicks,
“made such decisions and judgments as could not possibly be given or received
“before, till the usages of the realm were put in writing, and established for cer-
“tain and invariable.” They were first fixed and reduced to writing by *Alfred*,

¹ *Vita Alfredi*, p. 64.² *Mirroir des justices*, c. 1. § 3.

for the instruction of those judges in county and hundred courts of his erection; ALFRED. and thence the treatise called the *Mirroure of justices*, seems to have been extracted. The very title it bears insinuates that it was a *manual* or *directory*¹, serving as a guide for *justices* in their judgments: and it was probably drawn up by the king's council learned in the common law, to prevent those erroneous and contradicting decisions, which in an illiterate age, and by an infinite number of different and unexperienced justices, must, without such a common and uniform rule, have been daily given; and instead of promoting the order proposed, would have produced a strange confusion, and been the cause of a general uneasiness.

THE substance of this treatise is undoubtedly much ancients than the time of *Horne*; the judges, whose opinions or decisions are quoted in it, appear almost all of them by their names, to be *Saxons*, and consequently older than the conquest. The same may be observed of those corrupt ones, upon whom *Alfred* is said to have inflicted the *lex talionis* for their arbitrary and illegal judgments, to shew, as in a *mirroure*, what others were to expect in the like cases. The author, whose name it bears, only added to it some strictures of his own, some alterations made by *Henry I.*, and succeeding kings, the opinions of later judges in certain cases, and (what seems to be the chief design of his revision) the abuses or deviations introduced since the time of composing that *treatise*. It is much to be lamented, that the *Dome-book* of *Alfred*, so much respected in *Westminster-Hall*, to the time of *Edward IV.*, hath been since lost: it would have supplied us with a particular detail of those fixed, certain, and undisputed maxims of the *common law*, which that wise prince thought fit, by enjoining them expressly, to have observed invariably; but which, through the want thereof, are too much left in the discretionary power of judges, who, in the multitude of jarring decrees, which are to be seen in our modern reports, can never want a precedent or colour, whenever out of favour, spleen, interest, or corruption, they have an inclination to deviate from them in their decisions. It might be of use to prevent the occasions of law-suits, to remove the uncertainty of their event, and to lessen the tediousness, the expences, the inconveniences, and the excessive number of processes in the courts at *Westminster*, by contributing to revive the judicatures of the counties and hundreds, with authority to determine all causes arising within their districts, or of a certain value, according to the rate at which money now passes, proportioned to what it bore at the time of their first institution. For in all states, there will be in time some deviations from their original constitution, creeping in insensibly: and when they have gone a great length, it will become necessary (as *Machiavel* observes) to have recourse to those first principles, upon which the government was founded.

XVI. THERE are some other institutions ascribed to ² *Alfred*; which, if not Some of his institutions. originally introduced by him, do at least derive from him the regularity, with which they were afterwards continued and practised. He was probably the most knowing, the wisest, and the most indefatigable man in his kingdom: yet he never cared either to sit in judgment, or to transact any momentous affair of government, without having the advice, and hearing the sentiments of others, of whose skill and judgment he had a good opinion³. Hence it was, that he not only provided for the *great councils* of the nation to be held twice a year at *London*; but as-

¹ Among the rest of *Alfred's* works, *Bale* mentions a book wrote *Contra iniquos judices*: another entitled, *Acta Magistratum*: a third, *Visi-Saxonum Leges*: a fourth, which was a *Collection* out of the *Laws* of the *Greeks*, *Britains*, *Saxons*, and

Danes: and *Leland*, *De scriptoribus Angl.* c. 115. p. 150. says, he saw a book of his *De legibus* at *Christ-Church* in *Hampshire*.

² *Vita Alfredi*, p. 115, 116.

³ *Mirroi des justices*, c. 1. § 3.

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sembled his bishops and nobility regularly at the three great festivals, which were more particularly appointed, wherever the king kept his court for the hearing, as well of original causes, either of the great *thanes*, or of heinous crimes reserved to his cognizance, as of appeals from inferior judicatures and for the remedying of all oppression. To assist him at all other times, he formed out of the bishops, abbots, clergy, and nobility, who, by reason of their offices, were constantly attending about his person, a select body¹ of wise councillors, since known by the name of the *privy council*. Another of these institutions, was the method of *trial by juries of twelve men*², of the same rank and condition with the person accused, and taken from the *neighbourhood* of the place where the crime was committed, the circumstances whereof they might be presumed to know, as well as the character of the witnesses, by whom it was to be proved. *Tacitus* observes, with regard to all the *German* nations in his time³, that the *prince, chieftain*, or lord of a territory among them, when he sat in judgment, had always an hundred co-assessors with him, chosen out of the *ingenui*, or freeholders of the country: and this custom prevailed undoubtedly among the *Saxons*, as it did likewise among all the northern nations, till succeeding times gave occasion to some alterations⁴. Thus among the *Danes*, the number of these assessors was restrained to twelve, in the time of *Regner Lodebrog*, and the same number is still kept up in *Sweden*. When it was first thus reduced in *England*, doth not appear from any passage in our old historians: but that this was the established number in *Alfred's* time, may be inferred, as well from his hanging *Cadwine* for sentencing a man to that kind of death without the assent of all the twelve jurors⁵, upon whom he had put himself to be tried (three of them dissenting from the rest, and being removed to make way for three others that concurred in the sentence) as from the laws which he gave to *Gothburn*. It is very probable, however, that he was the first author of extending to *civil* causes this way of trial; which had been perhaps used before in *criminal* cases; and that the most considerable *thanes* in a county, attended at first at these trials, till finding in time, that little came before them in judgment worthy of their trouble and attention, they grew negligent in attending, and left the care of this part of judicature to the ordinary *freeholders*.

WE see in the history of this reign a remarkable proof, that it is a prince's own fault, if he is not well served; and that it is no ill rule to judge of his designs by the measures of his ministers: for a great and good prince will always have able and upright ministers, and will either find or make them fit for his purposes. When *Alfred* came to the throne, there was (as *Affer* represents the case) scarce a man in employment, that was either duly qualified for it, or was not corrupt in the exercise of his office; but by his instructions and strict examination into their talents and conduct, by his continual attention to the affairs of government, and the administration of justice, he formed them, in a short time, to his mind, and fitted them to co-operate with him in the great work of preventing rapine, violence, and oppression, of correcting disorders among a people habituated thereto, of establishing the quiet, re-animating the virtue of the nation, and putting it in a flourishing condition.

His death and children.

XVII. THIS excellent prince, after a⁶ reign of twenty-nine years and an half, died on *October 26, A. D. 900*⁷, and was interred at *Winchester*, first in the old, and

¹ *Affer*. p. 70. ² *Vita Alfredi*, p. 72.³ *De mor. Germ.* ⁴ *Saxo Grammat.* l. ix.⁵ *Mirroir des justices*, c. 5. § 1. § 107. c. 3. See also *I. L. Athelstan*. c. 11. & *Senatus consult. de monticulis Wallie*, c. 3. *Ib. Edw. Conf. pref.*⁶ *Afferii Annal. Vit. Alfredi*, p. 169.⁷ The *Saxon chronicle* and *Florence of Worcester*place his death a year before, but as they agree he reigned but twenty-nine years and an half, and that he began his reign *A. D. 871*, which *Affer* also attests, whose authority in that point is unexceptionable (though the inscription on *Ethelred's* tomb says he died *April 23, A. D. 872*. See *Camden Dorset*) there is no doubt but he died *A. D. 900*.

afterwards in the new, monastery of his own foundation; from whence, about ALFRED.
A. D. 1520, his bones, with those of several other *Saxon* and *English* kings, being
 put into lead coffins, inscribed with the name of each, were removed, by bishop *Fox*,
 to the cathedral. There they rested in peace, till *December* 14, *A. D.* 1642; when
 the parliamentary rebels, and hypocritical pretenders to greater purity of religion,
 than others, mingled all their ashes together, riddled and threw them into the air;
 an act of desecration too shocking to be paralleled among the most brutal bar-
 barians. *Alfred* had, by his wife *Ethelswitha*, three sons and as many daughters;
 of the former *Edmund* the eldest was crowned in his father's life-time, and died be-
 fore him; *Edward* the second succeeded him; and *Ethelward* the youngest was
 bred at *Oxford*, made a wonderful proficiency in learning, and dying *October* 16,
A. D. 922, left two sons named *Elwin* and *Ethelwin*, who were, in *Athelstan's* reign,
 slain in an engagement with *Anlaf*. Of his daughters, *Elfleda* the eldest, was (as
 hath been already observed) married to *Ethelred*, earl of *Mercia*; *Athelgeova* turn-
 ing nun, was made abbess of *Shaftsbury*; and *Alfritha*, or *Athelswitha*, the youngest,
 being married to *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, had by him two sons, *Arnulf*, from
 whom the counts of that country, and *Adulf*, from whom the counts of *Boulogne*,
 descended.

XVIII. His character. *ALFRED* was a prince of whom it is difficult to speak with justice: for
 his due elogium must seem exaggerated, and the least detraction from it, would be
 an injury to his character. There met in him all the qualities, which contribute to
 form a great man; great parts, great application, great courage, and a great mind;
 whatever way we turn our reflections, we find him every where admirable, and his
 genius so universal, that he excelled in every subject, science, and business, which
 engaged his attention. * “If we consider his regular exercises of religion, one
 “would think he had never been out of a cloister; if his wars, that he had lived
 “no where but in a camp; if his learning and writings, that he had passed all
 “his time in an university; if his regulations for the good of his people, and the
 “security of his kingdom, that he made the laws the study of his life, and that
 “the arts of government had been the only subject of his reflections.” Religion
 seems to be what he had most at heart: yet his zeal for it never seduced him to
 sacrifice any of the rights of his crown to papal usurpations, nor led him either to
 stoop to actions unbecoming his dignity, or to neglect any other duty which he
 owed to himself or his people. Surrounded when he came to the crown (which
 he was rather to win by his sword, than inherit from his father's disposition) by
 infinite shoals of enemies, continually recruited by fresh numbers of men, whose
 sole delight and business was war and plunder, he had perpetual occasions of exert-
 ing his military skill and personal bravery. *Malmesbury* says, he was present in
 fifty-six battles against the *Danes*, either by sea or land; many of which, when on
 the point of being lost, he restored by his personal valour: and being never daunted
 with a foil (for he never suffered any considerable defeat) he was ready the next
 moment for a new action, or rather more eager for it, though withal more cir-
 cumspect than before. When he had fortified his coasts and frontiers, and formed
 a regular militia to his mind, he took his measures so well, that he was never bas-
 fled in any of his enterprizes. Learning was, in his time, a sure way to prefer-
 ment; an encouragement without which it can never flourish, and which indeed it
 can never want, but under weak and bad princes, who have no concern for the
 public welfare: the love of it was his favourite passion; it was the constant sub-
 ject of his conversation with the learned men, whom he kept about his court, and

* *Hist. major. Winton.*

* *Testimonia de Alfredo R. ad finem Vitæ.*

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talked with at his meals and hours of relaxation from business. This is certainly the agreeablest and the easiest method of acquiring knowledge, and which is in the power of every prince (indeed of every man of quality and fortune) to take in any age of his life; and yet we find him imitated by very few, besides *Francis I* of *France*, of whom it is observed by *M. de Thou*, that he took the same method, and having a clear head and excellent judgment of his own, by talking with learned men on the subjects of their respective studies, which he caused them to debate before him, he became master to a surprizing degree of all points of learning. Music, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, architecture, mathematics, history, and poetry are sciences, or matters of knowledge and genius, in which *Alfred*¹ is particularly celebrated for excelling: and of this, his many works² still preserved afford an ample testimony. His fortitude and activity were extraordinary; he saw and examined into every thing himself; his care and vigilance extended every where, and to all matters; and such was his prudence in resolving on measures, as well as his constancy and firmness in pursuing them, that he never failed of carrying his point in view; being equally admirable at the head of an army or council, in the field or cabinet. Thus he made religion and learning flourish throughout his kingdom, as much in a time of war and alarms, as they could have done in any other reign in the midst of peace: and established such wise regulations for the impartial administration of justice, and securing the liberties of his subjects, as must have continued those blessings to latest posterity; if people were not senseless, mean, or corrupt enough, either to submit tamely to any violence used in the breach thereof, or by consenting to a deviation from them on particular occasions, to create unhappy precedents for setting them aside for ever. In his private life he was the most valuable and amiable man of his country; he³ had a fine person, a calm but lively aspect, graceful mien, and easy deportment; he was of an even and chearful temper, agreeable in conversation, and affable to all, knowing well how to condescend to people without sinking below his dignity, and to gain their affections without lessening their respect. He was temperate in his diet, moderate in all his desires, charitable and good to all the world, beneficent, generous, magnificent on all fitting occasions, and when to all this, and what hath been said before in the account of his actions, we add, that he possessed these virtues, without a single vice to sully them, *Alfred*'s will appear the most perfect character that is known in history: yet this is no more than his due, and what hath deservedly procured him among foreign writers, as well as our own, the glorious appellation of *Alfred the Great*.

EDWARD I.

EDWARD, surnamed *the Elder*, as being the first king of *England* of that name, succeeded his father; inferior to him in⁴ learning and other talents, but his equal in military skill; by which he distinguished himself in the whole course of his reign, and with so good success, that he was never worsted in any one battle, where he fought in person. The death of *Alfred*, who was both loved and feared, gave the *Danes*, settled in the *East-Angles* and the *Northumbrian* territories, some hopes of being able to throw off the *English* yoke, and to renew their usual depredations: it was what they had always wished, and a favourable opportunity was now offered them to make the attempt. *Ethelwald*, cousin-german to *Edward*, in the second year of his reign, set up a claim to the crown:⁵ and seizing *Winburne* and *Christ Church*, raised an insurrection, which the king marched immediately with a potent army to suppress. When *Edward* was advanced to *Badbury*⁶, within two miles of *Winburne*, *Ethelwald* quitting the place by night, fled to *Normandie*: and passing from thence into *Northumberland*, was received by the *Danes* of that

¹ *Asser De gestis Alfredi.*² *Spelman. Vit. Alfred. p. 166.*⁶ *Brompton. p. 832. Flor. Wig. and Chr. Sax. A. D. 901.*³ *Asser. Men.*⁴ *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 5.*⁶ *Camden in Dorset.*

country for their king, as he was the year following by those of *Essex*. He still EDWARD I. did not think himself strong enough to contend with *Edward*¹: and going beyond sea to procure further succours, returned the next year with a body of forces; which encouraged the *East-Angles* to declare in his favour. In the year 905 assembling an army, he made an incursion into *Oxford* and *Gloucester* shires, passed the *Thames* at *Cricklade*, and wasted the adjoining parts of *Wilts*: but retired before *Edward* could come up with his forces. The king pursuing the enemy to the borders of the *East-Angles*, wasted all the country between the *Ouse*, the *North-Fen* and *Bury*, without meeting any force to oppose him in the field: but not caring to advance further into an hostile country, retired with the main body of his troops; the *Kentishmen* only staying behind for the sake of plunder. The *Danes* seizing the opportunity of cutting off this party, attacked them near *Bury*²: but they met with so obstinate a resistance, that though they remained masters of the field, they bought that small advantage very dear by the death of *Ethelwald*, of their king *Eonrick*, and of several of their chief generals. This destroying their hopes of raising any commotion among the *West-Saxons*, they thought fit not long after to sue for peace³: and an accommodation being made at *Ickford* in *Bucks*, it was for some time observed by the *East-Angles*.

THE *Northumbrians* however did not cease to be troublesome: and were constantly joined by the *Danes*, whom *Alfred*, content with preserving the peace of his dominions, had suffered to live in the towns of *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, and *Stamford*, and who were, from the number of those places, called the *Fif-burgers*. Nothing however passed more considerable than such ravages, as usually happen in unsettled times upon the borders of different countries: which were carried on, notwithstanding the late treaty⁴, till *A. D.* 911: when *Edward*, incensed at their incursions, fitted out a fleet to infest their coasts; and they, supposing that the greatest part of his forces would be put on board it, invaded his territories with a stronger body of troops than ordinary, thinking they might waste them without any danger. They were attacked however in their return home by the *West-Saxons* and *Mercians*, at *Tetenbale*⁵ in *Staffordshire*: and being defeated, with the slaughter of two of their kings, many of their principal commanders, and several thousands of their men, the whole booty was recovered. The *Northumbrians* seem to have continued quiet for some years after this disaster: and *Elfsleda*, countess of *Mercia*, thought it a proper time to fortify *Chester*, *Eddebury*, and *Runcorn* in *Cheshire*; *Cherbury* and *Bridgenorth* in *Shropshire*; *Weddesborough* and *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, and *Warwick*, to secure those parts against their future incursions. Another quarter of that country still lay open to the *Fif-burgers*; who falling suddenly into *Oxfordshire*⁶, routed a small body of *English* got together at *Hokenorton* to oppose them: and returning home with a booty, their good fortune tempted another party of their countrymen to advance, in hopes of the like success, as far as *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*, on the edge of *Bucks*, where they were all cut in pieces. These incursions seem to have been the occasion of *Edward*'s fortifying *Buckingham*, *Towcester*, and *Bedford*; upon which earl *Thurketill* submitted, with the *Danes* under his command, and went with such as would follow him into *France*. The king was soon after obliged to provide in the same manner for the security of the *West-Saxon* coasts on the *Bristol channel*⁷; which were infested by a fleet of rovers from *Normandie* and *Bretagne*; who met with so warm a reception, that they were routed in every place where they attempted to make a descent.

EDWARD had found by experience, that there was no trusting to the submission of the *Danes*; and thought it necessary to put a stop to their inroads, by building for-

¹ *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 904. ² *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 39. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 905. ³ *Ib.* *A. D.* 907. ⁴ *Chr. Sax.* 911. ⁵ *Camb. Staffordshire.* ⁶ *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 914. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 917. ⁷ *Ib.* *A. D.* 916 and 918.

EDWARD I. tresses on their frontiers: and to secure their subjection after they had submitted, by erecting others within their country. This plan he had pursued in order to reduce *Essex*, the bulwark of the country of the *East-Angles*¹, by the fortifications he had made at *Maldon*, *Witham*, *Hertford*, and *Wiggemere*; which I take to be *Waymere* castle in a small island by *Bishop's Stortford*. These the *East-Angles*, assisted by the *Mercian Danes*, and some succours from beyond sea, attempted in vain to take, in *A. D.* 921, their efforts serving only to hasten their ruin: for being routed in two battles near *Bedford* and *Temsford*, they lost this last place; which they had fortified, as the best situated, and most defensible of any of their frontier. This was followed by the submission of earl *Thurferth* and the *Northamptonshire Danes*, by the taking and fortifying of *Huntingdon* and *Colchester*; by the surrender of the *Danish* army at *Cambridge*, and by the reduction of the whole country of the *East-Angles*; all which was the work onely of one campaign. *Edward* having secured all behind him, advanced the next spring to *Stamford*: which surrendered readily, and was fortified, as the importance of the place deserved. There he heard of the decease of his sister *Elfreda*: who died on *June* 13, and had a little before her death, taken *Derby* and *Leicester* from the *Danes*. Upon this event, he took the government of *Mercia* into his own hands, advanced to *Nottingham*, fortified the place, and having reduced the county, marched into the *Peake* of *Derby*; where he erected a fort at *Bakewell*: and all in those parts, both *Danes* and *English*, having sworn allegiance to him, he moved still more westward to receive the submission of three princes of *North-Wales*². He provided for the security of these provinces, and for his further progress, by erecting, the year following, a fortress at *Thelwell* on the *Mersey*, and another at *Manchester*: and having thus secured all that he had already subdued, advanced northward, to reduce the rest of *England*; in which he does not seem to have found much difficulty. *Edward's* view was not so much to make hasty conquests, which are often lost in as short a time, and with the same ease as they are gained, as to render them sure and lasting: and he took his measures for this end with so much caution and prudence, that the fame of his exploits, and the terror of his arms, flying before him, *Sidric* and *Reinald*, kings of the *Northumbrian Danes*, who were at war with one another, and the prince of the *Cumbrian* and *Strath-Chuyd Britains*, with all their chieftains in *Galloway*, submitted to his empire³. The *Scots* too inhabiting the northern parts of what had formerly been the *Northumbrian* territories, were glad to purchase peace by the like subjection; their king consenting to hold those dominions in vassalage of the crown of *England*. The settling of his conquests took up the rest of *Edward's* reign till his death; the time of which is variously reported by historians; but it seems plainly to have happened about *August* 17, *A. D.* 927, to which the indiction xv, the surest chronological mark of any, mentioned by *Florence of Worcester*, exactly agrees⁴. By *Egwynnea*, his first wife, of a noble family, he had two sons, *Alfred*, who died before him, and *Atbelstan*, and a daughter named *Edgytha*⁵: by his second wife *Elfreda*, daughter of earl *Elfelm*, he had *Ethelwald*, who died about the same time with his father, and *Edwin*, the time and manner of whose death are uncertain. He had also six daughters by her; two of which lived always in celibacy, though only one of them turned nun: the other four were married to *Charles the Simple*, and *Hugh Capet*, kings of *France*, the emperor *Otbo* I, and a duke, whose territories lay near the *Alpes*. By *Edgiva*, his third wife, he had

¹ *Brompton*, p. 834. *Hidden Polychr. Chr. Sax.*
A. D. 921.

² *Ib.* *A. D.* 922. ³ *Ib.* *A. D.* 923.

⁴ *Ib.* *A. D.* 924. *Brompton*, p. 835.

⁵ *Angl. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 80, 90. *Chr. Sax.*
A. D. 941. *Malmsh.* l. ii. c. 5.

⁶ *Hist. Major. Winton.* l. iii. c. 7.

Edmund and *Edred*, who afterwards reigned, and two daughters; the eldest a nun; the younger married to *Louis*, prince of *Guienne*.

ATHELSTAN, the eldest of *Edward's* surviving sons, succeeded him in the throne, a just, wise, and great prince; graceful in his person, affable in his carriage, generous in his sentiments, exceeding beneficent, charitable, and religious¹. Ever victorious in war, he was still fond of peace, out of tenderness to his subjects, whose good he consulted in the whole course of his government, and whose commerce he particularly encouraged. *Spelman*² mentions a law or privilege of his, by which a *merchant who had made three voyages into the streights* (the chief seat of commerce in that age) *on his own account, and not as a factor for another, should be put upon the foot of athane*, or raised to the condition of a gentleman; a privilege of great use in those days, when it was a received maxim among all the German nations, that the being concerned in traffick derogated from gentility. *Athelstan*, to keep the mutinous *Northumbrians* quiet, indulged them in a prince with the title of king: and disposing of his sister *Edgytha* in marriage to *Sibtric*, a *Danish* chieftain³, gave him with her all the country (called formerly *Bernicia*) from the *Tees* northward to *Edinburgh*. But *Sibtric* not living above a year, *Adulf* endeavoured to make himself master of his territories, and seized *Bamburgh*, the chief city of the kingdom: whence he was soon driven by *Athelstan*, and the whole country reduced under the dominion of this prince; who kept it from that time under his immediate government, not thinking proper to confide it to any subordinate king, after the people had made so ill an use of his late indulgence. This was resented by *Gothfred*, son of *Sibtric*; who assuming his father's title without the king's leave, seized several forts, driving out the *English* garrisons, and refused to pay the usual tribute: but on *Athelstan's* advancing against him, he fled into *Scotland*, and having made soon after a vain attempt upon *York*, retired to his ships, and passed the rest of his days at sea, in the practice of piracy. *Constantine* was at this time king of *Scotland*: he had given refuge to the fugitive rebel, and had suffered him to get off, when demanded by *Athelstan*: who irritated at this proceeding, entered the country with an army, which the *Scots* not being able to oppose, were soon forced to submit. It was on this occasion, that *Athelstan*, being pressed to deprive *Constantine* of his kingdom, for breaking the faith he had given a few years before to *Edward*, made the answer celebrated by several of our historians, *That it is much more glorious to make a king, than be one*: and not only restored him his crown, but stood godfather to his son, and shewed him other marks of friendship. This generous treatment did not engage the *Scottish* king to a grateful return; he continued still in the same hostile mind⁴: and having assisted *Anlaf*, another of *Sibtric's* sons, to raise fresh troubles in *Northumberland*, provoked *Athelstan* to invade his dominions again both by sea and land, wasting the inward parts with his army up to the *Forth*, and all the coast, by means of his fleet, as far as *Cathness*, so that *Constantine* was obliged to sue for peace, and give his son for an hostage.

OWEN, king of the *Cumbrian Britains*, had joined *Constantine* in this attempt upon the quiet of *Athelstan's* dominions, and had his territories over-run in the same manner; but their ill success did not hinder them both, four years after, from bringing all their forces into the field to support *Anlaf* king of the *Isles*, who came from *Ireland* with a prodigious army of *Danes* in a fleet of six hundred and fifteen ships, to invade the north of *England*. *Athelstan* suffering them to en-

¹ *Malmsh.* l. ii. c. 6. ² *Concil.* p. 406.

³ *Malmsh.* ib. *Chron.* *Joh. Wallingford.*

⁴ *Flor. Wig.* *Chr. Sax.* A. D. 934. *Sim. Dun.* l. ii. c. 18.

De gestis regum, and Hist. Dunelm.

⁵ *Ib.* A. D. 938. *Ingulf.* *Hicke's Thesaur. ling.*

Saxon t. i. p. 181. *Sim. Dun. Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*

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ter farther than they ought in prudence into his dominions, met them at *Weondune*, near *Brunsbury* in *Northumberland*: and in a battle, which lasted from morning till night, routed them with a greater slaughter of their troops, than was ever known before in this country; five *Danish* kings, with seven of their generals, falling among the slain, and *Constantine*, *Owen*, and *Anlaf*, with a very small train of followers, escaping to their ships with difficulty. *Ingulf* ascribes this glorious victory chiefly to the incomparable valour of chancellor *Turketul*, at the head of a small corps of the *London* militia; whom he dignifies with the title of *heroes*, and represents as the first of the *English*, that pierced the ranks of the enemy, and broke the battalions of the *Scotch Highlanders*. *Malmesbury* relates an adventure, which happened the day before this battle, and which hath in it something extraordinary.

ANLAF, considering that the action expected was likely to be decisive of his fate, resolved to discover the situation of the *English* camp, and the condition of their army before he engaged: and disguising himself like a minstrel, went into it as far as the king's tent; where he played upon his harp, with so much skill, that he was easily admitted. The king was at dinner with his chief officers, who were all agreeably entertained with the music: but the repast being over, the musician was dismissed with an handsome reward; which disdainingly he carried off, he buried in the ground. A soldier, who had formerly served under him, observing this action, was confirmed by it in his suspicion, that the disguised harper was *Anlaf*: and gave notice of it to *Athelstan*; who blamed the man for not discovering it sooner, that he might have seized his enemy. The soldier alledged, that when he was in *Anlaf's* service, he had sworn to be true to him, and if he had betrayed his old master on that occasion, the king would have had reason to suspect him as capable of the like treachery now he was engaged in his service, and had taken an oath to his majesty; but advised him to take care of his safety, by removing his tent to another quarter. *Athelstan* commended the man for his fidelity, and followed his advice: the place left vacant by the removal of the tents, was taken up by a bishop and his train, who arrived in the evening with a body of forces; whose coming up the king had waited, before he would venture an engagement. *Anlaf*, in the middle of the night, broke suddenly into the camp: and making directly to the place where he had observed the king's tent, slew the bishop and all his followers; which giving a general alarm, he was soon obliged to retire. The event of the battle the next day shewed him his mistake: and *Athelstan*, being victorious, found, during the rest of his reign, no disturbance in his *Northumbrian* territories. All other parts of *England* seem to have enjoyed a constant tranquillity all his time; the *Welsh* being confined beyond the *Wye*, and the prince of *North-Wales* paying him a yearly tribute (as some writers say) of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in silver, and twenty-five thousand head of cattle, or rather of an hundred marks, as is said in *Howell Dda's* laws; which seems the better authority. The *western Britains* had hitherto dwelt along with the *English* in *Exeter*: but *Athelstan*, resolving to fortify the place with a wall and bulwarks of stone, thought fit to remove them beyond the river *Tamar*, which parts *Devonshire* from *Cornwall*. It was probably his great reputation and the goodness of his administration, which brought this last county under his subjection; for it doth not appear that he used any force in subduing it: yet he was the first *English* monarch that was master of all *Cornwall*; and a very good proof of his being so, may be drawn from his founding a collegiate church at *St. Burien's*², near the *Land's End*, upon his return from receiving the submission of the *Isles of Scilly*. This great king, happy in the love of his subjects, and in the friendship of all the neighbouring princes of *Europe*, who

¹ *Malmesb. ib.*

² *Camd. in Cornwall.*

sent him very valuable presents, as testimonies of their esteem, died full of glory without issue, on *October 27*¹, *A. D.* 941, at *Gloucester*, and was buried at *Malmesbury*.

EDMUND succeeded his brother *Athelstan*: and following his example in taking ED M U N D. measures for securing the quiet of his realm, removed the *Danes* out of the towns of *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, and *Stamford*², which they had hitherto inhabited equally with the *English*. It was a proper precaution to prevent the flame from spreading into the heart of his dominions, which had broke out among the *Northumbrians*. This turbulent people, no longer restrained by their dread of *Athelstan*, had taken up arms: and sent for *Anlaf* and *Reinald* from *Ireland* to their assistance. *Edmund* marching against them, they sued for peace: and offering to become *Christians*, he adopted the latter of those *Danish* princes for his son at the rite of confirmation, and stood godfather to the former at his baptism. This conversion was insincere, being designed only to avoid the present danger, and get time to increase their forces; as soon appeared, by their making incursions into other parts of his dominions³. *Edmund* marching without loss of time to oppose their progress, soon drove them out of the *Northumbrian* territories: and having spent a year in providing for the security of the country, fell the year following upon the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, who had assisted the *Danes* on all occasions. *Matthew* of *Westminster* says, that he put out the eyes of the two sons of *Dunmail*, king of that people: but this writer is too fond of fables to deserve credit in such relations, when other historians are silent. They all however agree, that *Edmund* wasted all *Galloway*: and having entirely reduced *Cumberland*, gave it to *Malcolm*, king of *Scotland*, to be held in fealty of the crown of *England*, on condition of guarding the *Northumbrian* territories by sea and land from the enemy's invasions. *Edmund*, who governed nobly for the time he reigned, died on *May 26*, *A. D.* 946, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving two sons, both too young to take upon them the government: and was buried at *Glastenbury*. The manner of his death is variously related⁴: but *Malmesbury* imputes it to an odd accident. He was keeping the festival of *St. Augustine*, the converter of the *Kentish Saxons*, at *Puckle-Church* in *Gloucestershire*, and sitting at dinner with his nobility, observed among them, at one of the tables in the hall, *Leod* (a notorious thief whom he had some years before banished for robbery) quarrelling with the steward of his household, who probably would have obliged him to withdraw. The king was naturally passionate; and being provoked at the intollerable insolence of the fellow, rose from table, seized him by the hair, and threw him upon the ground: but whilst he was holding him down, *Leod* drew a dagger, and thrust it with all his force into the king's breast, who expired immediately. The company, in their fury, fell upon the murderer: and cut him pieces; but not without being several of them wounded.

EDMUND was succeeded by his brother *Edred*⁵; who took great care of the edu- E D R E D. cation of his children, and was too much given to devotion to be fond of a crown, which the necessity of the times obliged him to take, and to exert an activity not natural to a person that loved to be always at his prayers, and was as absolutely governed by the famous *Dunstan*, abbot of *Glastenbury*, as the simplest monk of his convent. The *Northumbrians*, rebelled according to their custom at the ac-

¹ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 941. *Angl. Sacr.* i. ii. p. 80.

² *Malmesb.* i. ii. c. 7. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 942.

³ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 944.

⁴ *Powell's Hist. of Wales*, p. 58. *Brompton*, p. 858.

Osborn. Vit. Odonis, Angl. Sacr. xi. 82. *Chron. J. Wallingford. Sim. Dunelm.*

⁵ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 946. *Malmesb.* i. ii. c. 7.

Brompton, p. 862.

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cession of a new king: but upon his entering their country with a strong army, they readily submitted; and the *Scots* likewise, without any difficulty, renewed their oath of fealty. The former did not long keep what had been extorted from them by the terror of an army: but as soon as that force was removed, they set up a king of their own; most of their nobility being engaged in the revolt, and even *Wulfstan*, archbishop of *York*, strongly suspected to be concerned in the conspiracy¹. This general defection, in which the whole province seemed to be involved (except the city of *York*², which *Thurketyl*, restorer of the abbey of *Croyland*, by his wise remonstrances kept, as well as the archbishop, in their duty) incensed *Edred* to such a degree, that, contrary to the mildness of his nature, he destroyed the whole country with fire and sword; which forced another submission and new oaths of allegiance from the remaining inhabitants, who saw themselves in danger of perishing by famine. They were not quiet above two years; ³ when a plentiful harvest having recruited their spirits, they either invited *Anlaf* out of *Ireland*, or joined him when he landed, with a considerable body of forces in *Northumberland*: but inconstant, as well as violent, in all their measures, they turned him out about three years after, and set up *Yric*, the son of *Harold*. In two⁴ years more they drove out this usurper: and *Edred* reduced them again into subjection; being thereby enabled to leave his nephew *Edwy*, the eldest son of *Edmund*, all his father's dominions, which he took possession of upon his uncle's death⁵, on *November 23*, *A. D.* 955.

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THIS prince, whose father, had he lived to this time, would not have been more than thirty-three years of age, must have been very young, when he ascended the throne: and this circumstance probably disposed people to give the easier credit to those stories, which the monks invented, or at least industriously spread, of his amours and libertine way of living; for which I cannot see any just foundation. They were the *Puritans* of those days, full of the same conceited, arrogant, and furious spirit, which dictated the many virulent and abusive libels that flowed from the pens of those so called in this country in the two last centuries. Valuing themselves on the perfection of *St. Benedict's* rule, and the purity of their profession, they pretended to a superior sanctity than others could possibly attain, and looking on the rest of the world with contempt, imagined they had a licence to asperse whom they pleased in the most indecent and abusive manner; such especially as would not espouse their interests. *Edwy* was one of these; he would not turn out the secular canons to place them in monasteries; this was the true motive of all their complaints of his government, of all their rage against his person, and of all the calumnies, with which they have loaded his memory. These calumnies are indeed too general to deserve the least regard; being not supported by any fact, except in one instance, which is founded purely upon *Osbern's* legend of the lives⁶ of *St. Odo* and *St. Dunstan*, from whence all other writers, that mention the story, have borrowed it; with such small variations sometimes, as tales receive in being repeated. It must be observed, that neither the *Saxon* nor *Peterborough* *Chro-*

¹ *Malmesb. ib.* ² *Ingulf. A. D.* 947.

³ *Flor. II. ig. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 947. *Brompton*, p. 862. ⁴ *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 952, 954.

⁵ *A. D.* 955.

⁶ These lives are printed in *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. from p. 78, to p. 121. The second part of the latter's life, Mr. *Wharton* thought too full of falsehoods and absurdities to publish; and whoever reads what is printed, will see little reason to believe any thing in them upon the credit of an author, who certainly forged himself some of his

stories, and abuses every where all the secular clergy, throwing false aspersions on some of the best bishops of the time. Mr. *Heaton* has corrected several of his errors, refuted some of his palpable lies (for so he styles them) and exposed the falshood of some of his calumnies: and if it was not too mean and disagreeable a task to examine each pretended fact, I am of opinion there is not a single relation in both the legends, but might be refuted either in its substance or circumstances.

icles, nor *Simcon Dunelmensis*, nor *Florence of Worcester*, nor *Huntingdon*, nor *Hoveden* make the least mention either of this particular story, or of *Edwy's* amours in general; which indeed seem a little inconsistent with the violent passion, those who charge him with incontinency complain, he had for *Ælgiua*, or *Edelgiua*, whose name shews her to be of the royal, or at least of a very noble, family. The king had married this young lady¹, who was exceedingly handsome; and was infinitely fond of her: but the monks took exceptions to this marriage, because the parties were related in the third or fourth (for what hath been already said of *Alfred's* and *Edward's* children, shews that the relation could not be nearer) or perhaps in a remoter degree, but still such as was prohibited by the canons. A papal dispensation could in those days hallow any thing; but without it such marriages were censured not only as unlawful, but null: and consequently the husband passed for a wench, as the wife did for a concubine or harlot. That this was the case, appears from the very invectives of those, who are most injurious to *Edwy's* character; representing their cohabitation as contrary to the *law of the church*, the *law of God*, and (because they were so near a kin) the *law of nature*. This was the foundation of the only fact, which is alledged to blacken that prince; and which is thus related by *Malmesbury*²: who had *Osbern's* legend before him when he wrote; though he saw reason to deviate from it in some particulars of the relation. "The king had married a lady very nearly related to him, against the advice of his counsellors³, or bishops; and on the day of his coronation, when all his nobility were about him, discoursing about state affairs of great consequence to the kingdom, he got up after dinner (probably to avoid hard drinking, which *Wallingford*⁴, in relating this story, says, was too much the practice of the *Engliss* at such entertainments) and went away to the queen's apartment. The nobility seeming to resent this as an indecorum, and the archbishop exclaiming bitterly against it, *Dunstan* went after *Edwy* to fetch him back: and breaking abruptly into the room, found him playing at ramps with his wife and her mother. The abbot used no ceremony with the king, but seizing him by the arm, dragged him away to the company: and archbishop *Odo*, by obliging *Edwy* to divorce his wife, made him his eternal enemy." This is all that *Malmesbury* hath thought fit to say of this affair in his history; though in another⁵ place he confirms the substance of what *Osbern* relates of the treatment, which the queen received from *Odo*; who ordered a party of soldiers to fetch her from the palace; and having in contempt of the laws, which allowed no such corporal punishment to be inflicted on any but slaves, disfigured her face, and seared it with an hot iron, that she might no longer charm the king with her beauty, transported her into *Ireland*, to remain there for ever in exile. She staid there only till the scars were effaced: and then returning with a face as beautiful as before, he employed his followers to seize, and hamstring her; and at last put her to death at *Gloucester*⁶. *Malmesbury*, though he says nothing of *Ireland*, nor of her death, owns, she was banished first, and hamstrung afterwards; adding, that the archbishop likewise excommunicated the king; which certainly must be after the coronation; for he would never have anointed an excommunicate person. This circumstance helps to confirm what *Simcon of Durham*⁷ says of the time, when *Odo* pronounced the sentence of divorce between *Edwy* and *Ælgiua*; placing it in *A. D.* 958, a little before that archbishop's death, and two years after the rebellion of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*; the king's affairs being at that time in so ill a situation, that he was forced to submit to the sentence. This is the true state of a fact; which being

¹ *Hist. Ramessiensis*, c. 7.² *I.* ii. c. 7.³ *Sapientum*.⁴ *Viginti Scriptores*, t. i. p. 542.⁵ *De gestis pont.* i. i. p. 201.⁶ *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. p. 106.⁷ *De gestis regum*, *A. D.* 958.

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cooked up by artful misrepresentations, false suggestions, and general declamations, hath been perverted to countenance the clamours raised against *Edwy* by monkish writers; in order to divert the reader from attending to the insolence of *Dunstan*, the brutality of *Odo*, and the treasonable practices, in which both were concerned.

Character of
archbishop
Odo and St.
Dunstan.

XIX. *Odo*¹ was the son of a *Danish* nobleman, that came over with *Inguar* and *Hubba*; and taking in his infancy an inclination either to learning or *Christianity*, ran away from his parents; and was brought up by duke *Athelm*, one of the principal noblemen of *England*, perhaps the same that is mentioned in *Alfred's* will: who had him baptized, and taught *Greek* and *Latin*, made him acquainted with the great men about court, and carried him along with him in a journey, which he took to *Rome*. *Athelstan* made him bishop of *Sherbourn*: and being translated by *Edmund* to the see of *Canterbury*, he would not be enthroned, till he had got the abbot of *Fleury*, to come over from *France*, and give him the *Benedictine* habit; there being no convent of that order then in *England*². The religious societies, passing under the name of monasteries, consisted of secular clergy; living together under certain rules of their own making, frequenting divine service daily in their churches, instructing youth in learning to prepare them for holy orders, and enjoying all the privileges of the clergy; with a liberty of marrying, as is now practised in cathedral churches. This was universally the case, till the reformation introduced by *Dunstan* and *Edgar*; whose zeal for the monkish institution stuck at no violence, till they had filled the monasteries with men of such an uncommon perfection, that (to use the words of the abbot of ³ *Croyland*) they knew nothing at all of religion, besides continence and obedience. The monks however were in great vogue and in all the odour of sanctity abroad: and this reputation, with a certain appearance of simplicity and austerity, set off with the pompous pretences to a purer and more meritorious institution, recommending them to chancellor *Turketul* and other great men in *England*, *Odo* espoused their cause with all the warmth that his natural temper inspired, and supported it by all the measures that the haughtiness of his spirit suggested, and his great power in the church and state could enable him to pursue. *Dunstan* was born in *Somersetshire* of noble parents, from whom he inherited a large estate⁴; and was bred to learning in the seminary of *Glastenbury*. In his youth, he travelled abroad; where he seems to have contracted a fondness for the monkish discipline: and on his return home was introduced by his friends to court, where he recommended himself to the great men by his parts, learning, address, and skill in music. But he was much better qualified to insinuate himself into the good graces of people, than he was to keep their favour; for whether it was out of an haughty, busy, intermeddling temper, or the impertinence, sauciness, and arrogance of his behaviour, he soon created himself abundance of enemies. He seems to have been regular in the general tenor of his living; and had he been as free from the vices of that diabolical spirit, which (according to *Osbern's* ridiculous relations) haunted him all his life, as he was from the human frailties of incontinence and luxury, he would have been an useful man in his country: but he had too much of that spiritual pride, which, if employed for the service of the monks, will get a man easily exalted to a saint; though it dips him in the sins of sedition and rebellion, and reduces a kingdom to be a scene of blood, confusion, and desolation.

DUNSTAN having been recommended to *Edmund*, was for some time his chaplain, and had an employment about court; perhaps in the chancery or almonry:

¹ *Vit. S. Odonis.*² *Anglia Sacr.* t. ii. p. 91.³ *Ingulph.* p. 879.⁴ *Vita Dunstani.*

but was banished it for some offence. The credit however and instances of *Turketul*¹ (to whom he was secretary) who filled the post of chancellor from the latter end of *Edward's* reign, during those of *Atbelstan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, being cousin german and first minister to these three brothers, prevailed to have him restored to the king's favour and made abbot of *Glastenbury*; being the first of the *Engliff* nation, who (as *Bridferth* says in his life) enjoyed that² title: There he kept up the *Benedictine* rule; turned the secular canons out of their freeholds, in an illegal and arbitrary manner; and employed the possessions of that rich monastery to support the monks he introduced, whose chief merit was their swearing to him a blind obedience. What enabled him to do this, was his great credit with *Edred* the prince then reigning; who being given up to devotion, placed an implicate confidence in him; submitting to him, as well the management of his exchequer, as the direction of his conscience, *Dunstan* being both his treasurer and confessor. This power determined with *Edred's* life; he had no credit with *Edwy*; who (as *Wallingford* says) suspected him of having embezzled his father's treasure, and who certainly had married against his advice: and by the fondness he shewed for his wife, was fallen under another influence, which could not but be unfriendly to such as had opposed the marriage. *Dunstan* could not brook this change in his situation; and was ready to embark in any measures, to break the match, and recover his former power. This provoked him, when every body else had refused, to execute *Odo's* orders for fetching the king back to the feast, with the unparalleled insolence above related; an insult, which no prince upon earth could ever bear, and which well deserved to be punished, as it was, by the exile of *Dunstan* into *Flanders*; the only way in a manner then known of dealing with a privileged ecclesiastick, and of guarding against a turbulent abbot. The king had seen all the respect, due to his person, violated in the face of all the world: and when subjects have once lost all reverence for their prince, they soon break out into open rebellion. He had seen to what horrible extremities *Odo* was capable of proceeding: and had reason to expect that after the indignities he had suffered himself, and the sentence of banishment, arbitrarily pronounced and cruelly executed, against his queen, the next step the archbishop would take, might be to turn him out of his kingdom. He saw a great number of his nobility consenting to those indignities, and either concurring, or at least acquiescing, as well in that sentence as in the felonious treatment of his consort: and *Odo* thus supported was too powerful to be attacked by a prince scarce out of his minority; so that the storm fell upon *Dunstan*; who being young, active, vigorous, and enterprising, was a fit instrument for the old archbishop to employ in forming a conspiracy, and concerting measures for dethroning *Edwy*.

DUNSTAN'S exile did not hinder the conspiracy from taking effect; the *Mericians* and the *Northumbrians*³ rebelled and set up *Edwy's* younger brother *Edgar*, a boy about thirteen years old, for their king: who immediately recalled *Dunstan*, and put himself under his direction. The monkish writers, by way of apology for this step, alledge, that *Edwy* had turned all the monks out of their monasteries; and make very tragical complaints on that head, without the least foundation; there being no monks at that time in *England*⁴; except a few gathered by *Turketul* and *Ethelwolf* in the monasteries of *Croyland* and *Abington*, which they were then forming, and in *Glastenbury*, where *Dunstan* had enriched them with the spoils of the secular canons. Nor doth it appear, that *Edwy* had turned any

¹ *Inglulf*.*Flor. Wig. A. D. 957.*² *Anglia Sacra*. t. ii. p. 101.³ *Chron. Petriburg. Chron. Sax. A. D. 956.*⁴ *Gervas Cant. Col. 1645. Angl. Sacra*. t. ii. p. 105.

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monks out of those convents: but rebellion and usurpation are not to be glossed over without falsehoods; and one in which they might pretend religion was concerned, served very conveniently to ascribe the iniquities of their friends to providence. Whatever were the pretences of the rebellion, it involved *England* in a civil war, and in all the calamities attending it for some years, at least till *Edgar's* party had mastered all the country as far south as the *Thames*¹; being possessed of the *East-Angles*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*, with the *Lothians* as far as *Edenburgh*. None found their advantage in these troubles so much as *Dunstan*; who upon his return home (as *Bridferth* says in² his life) was ordained a bishop, without a particular see, in the council of *Bradford*. This extraordinary step was taken, in order to give him a seat in the council, where many regulations were made in the law and customs of the kingdom, and his advice proved exceeding useful: and *Kinewald* bishop of *Worcester* dying soon after³, *Edgar* then named him to that bishoprick. It was not long before the see of *London* fell likewise vacant: and this too being given him, he held them both for two years, till he intruded into the see of *Canterbury*⁴. The monkish writers make no scruple to applaud this plurality of bishopricks⁵ in *Dunstan*, to whose singular merit they represent it as due; though they would have exclaimed against it in a *Stigand*, or any other person, as spiritual bigamy or adultery, as an abominable irregularity and scandalous breach of the canons. *Edwy* stripped, by an unnatural usurpation, in the name of his younger brother⁶, of the greatest part of his dominions, did not long enjoy the rest: but died in *A. D.* 959; whether by a natural death, or by treachery, is uncertain. *Huntingdon*, who attests the goodness of his government, and the happiness which his subjects enjoyed under him, laments it as untimely.

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WHETHER it was so or not, to the nation, it was certainly very seasonable for *Dunstan*. *Canterbury* lay in the territories of *Edwy*; who upon *Odo's* decease *A. D.* 958, had made *Elfsin* his successor⁷: but this new archbishop dying the winter following, as he was passing the *Alpes* in his way to *Rome*, *Brighthelm* bishop of *Welles*⁸ was, upon advice of his death, translated to the archbishoprick. All *Edwy's* preferments were disposed of to the friends of the secular clergy; as *Edgar's* were to the partisans of the monks: *Brighthelm* was of the former class; a pious, humble, good, and valuable man⁹; but too mild to join in any violent measures for establishing the monks upon the ruin of the secular canons. Hence occasion was taken to charge him with the want of a proper spirit for government; and *Edgar's* name (for he was but sixteen at this time) with the concurring sentiments of the nobility, were made use of to eject *Brighthelm*¹⁰, without any canonical crime being so much as objected, and to put *Dunstan* in possession of the church of *Canterbury*. A journey to *Rome*, and the papal compliment of a *pall*, served to gloss over this intrusion into a full see, in open violation of the most essential rules of ecclesiastical discipline: but every thing sacred was to give way to *Dunstan's* superior merit, and to the necessity of his being at the head of the church; in order to execute the scheme laid for establishing the *Benedictine* rule in all the monastical or collegiate communities, and ecclesiastical seminaries throughout *England*. This prelate had so entire an ascendant over *Edgar*, that the royal authority was exerted as he pleased: and having got the king¹¹ to name *Osvald*, nephew to *Odo*, and bred a monk in the abbey of *Fleury* in *France*, to the see of *Worcester*, and *Ethelwold*, one of his own training at *Glastenbury*, not long

¹ Chron. J. Wellingford. p. 107.

² A. D. 957.

³ Hist. Rameſci. c. 7.

Sacr. t. ii. p. 108.

⁴ Angl. Sacr. t. ii.

⁵ A. D. 959.

⁶ Flor. Wig. Angl.

⁷ Sim. Dun. De gestis Reg.

⁸ Angl. Sacr. t. i. p. 101, 102.

⁹ Chron. J. Wellingford.

¹⁰ De gest. Reg. A. D. 959.

¹¹ Sim. Dun.

¹² Ingulf.

after, to that of *Winchester*, he became enabled by their assistance to make a great progress in the work of reforming the monasteries. The nation was prepared for it, as well by pompous eulogiums on the piety of the *monks*, the regularity of their manners, the merit of their celibacy, and the excellency of their discipline, as by bitter invectives against the secular canons, spread in all places, in a loose, general, and declamatory manner, without any apparent foundation, but what arose, either from their marriages, or their hospitality. Whatever their conduct was, they were turned out of all cathedrals and convents, where those prelates had any influence: and *Benedictine* monks planted in their stead. Thus near fifty monasteries were reformed or repaired in the time of this king; who lent his authority and employed the revenue of his crown on all occasions of that nature. These all lay in the parts of *England* south of *Trent*; for notwithstanding *Wilfrid's* endeavours in former days to introduce the *Benedictine* rule in the north, it had made so little progress there, that before the conquest, there was not a monk to be seen in all the *Northumbrian* territories.

EDGAR'S zeal for the monks subjected him to various surprizes; he readily swallowed all pretences of dreams for the re-edifying of monasteries that had been destroyed by the *Danes*: and never failed to sacrifice some of the crown lands to their endowment. This, though it lessened the royal revenue, did not yet impair the prerogative; which however he made no scruple of giving up in some instances upon other pretences. For now in all appearance was forged the spurious charter to *Peterborough* abbey, said to be confirmed by Pope *Agatho*, and exempting it from episcopal as well as civil jurisdiction; it being pretended to be² found at this time in the ruins of an old wall; a story which passed so current with *Edgar*, that he easily granted the monks of it the same privileges, which they pretended to derive originally from *Wulfhere* king of *Mercia*. This served for a precedent to countenance the like grants of exemption to other monasteries; with a power of electing their abbot, in prejudice of the right, which the crown had hitherto enjoyed, of appointing superiors to all monasteries of royal foundation. The charter granted to the old monastery at *Winchester*, after the canons had been turned out, empowered³ the monks to choose the bishop of that *see*: and confined them, in their choice of the person, to one of their own convent; though, if there was none in it duly qualified by his morals and learning for such a dignity, they were in that case allowed to elect, not a *canon* (all such being expressly excluded) but a monk out of some other noted monastery. In some cases, particularly of the new monastery of that place (which was founded by *Alfred*, and known, since the conquest, by the name of *Hyde*) after expelling the canons, he gave the monks⁴ a body of statutes to regulate their conduct.

DISPOSED as the *English* were, through their natural credulity and fondness for novelty, to give into any pretences of a purer institution; such a violent expulsion of the secular canons could not, as all the clergy in those days were descended of noble families, well be made without raising a general clamour, and causing some disturbance in the nation. It was perhaps to guard against this danger, and to prevent the *Scots* encouraging any commotion, that *Edgar*, in the beginning of his reign, quitted *Edinburgh*⁵ to their king *Indulf*⁶, and abstained in the whole course of it from making any alterations among the *Northumbrians*, a turbulent people and ever ready on the least occasion to break out into an insurrection; though *Oskitel* and *Oswald*, archbishops of *York*, were great encouragers of the

¹ *Sim. Dun. ib. A. D. 1074.*

Winton. l. iii. c. 12.

² *Chron. Sax. A. D. 963.*

⁴ *Concil. Magn. Brit. t. i. p. 240.*

³ *Rudborne in Hist. Major.*

⁵ *Camden's Britan. in Lothian.*

⁶ *Camden on the credit of an old MS. fixeth this cession of Edinburgh to A. D. 960.*

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monkish institution. He had at the same time assembled the nobility of those parts, and in a general council held at *York*¹, had made several useful regulations for the keeping of that province quiet; one of which is particularly mentioned. *Edred* had put all the *Northumbrian* territories under the government of *Osulf*; but *Edgar* thinking it too much for one man to enjoy in the way of inheritance, lest he should set up an independency, to which that people always aspired, divided it into two portions, assigning *Deira* to *Osulf*, and all the rest of the country from the *Tees* to the *Forth*, either to *Osulf*, or upon his death (which *Wallingford* placeth about this time) to *Eadulf* surnamed *Ewetchild*.

Lothian had been in all times exposed to the incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and was so situated, as to be almost incapable of defence without great expence and difficulty: it brought in likewise very little revenue to the crown, and on all these accounts was deemed scarce worth the keeping. The *Scots* had been always ready to join the *Danes* against the *English*, till *Edmund* gave *Cumberland* to *Malcolm* I, to be held in the way of fealty and homage, of the crown of *England*, by the heir apparent of *Scotland*; who was not only to defend it at his own expence, but to send a body of auxiliaries to the assistance of the king of *England*, whenever the northern parts of his realm were infested by any commotion or invasion. *Malcolm* had accordingly assisted *Edred* in suppressing the insurrection of the *Northumbrians*, which had broke out in this prince's reign: and it had been observed, that from that time, the old friendship between that people and the *Scots* had been utterly extinguished², and the *Danes* had made descents on all the maritime parts of *Scotland*, with as much animosity and fury, as they had ever shewn in ravaging *England*. These circumstances disposed *Edgar* and the *English* nobility to hearken to a motion of *Kenneth* III; who in a visit he made to that prince's court, desired that *Lothian*, which then comprehended all the eastern parts of *Scotland* between the *Tweed* and the *Frith* of *Forth*, might be granted to him and his heirs kings³ of *Scotland*, on the like terms of homage and vassalage as *Cumberland*. This was agreed to, after a solemn debate in parliament, upon these further conditions; that the ancient customs of the people in those parts should be maintained inviolate, and no alteration made in the language of the country; which was then and hath ever since continued to be *English*. *Kenneth* hereupon did homage to *Edgar*⁴: and was one of those eight⁵ princes, who rowed him on the *Dee* near *Chester*, whilst he sat at the helm to govern the pinnacle.

WHILST *Edgar* by these measures kept well with his neighbours, whose dominions lay contiguous to his own, he took care to guard his maritime provinces against the insults of a foreign enemy, by a more numerous fleet, than ever had been known in *England*. He used, after *Easter*, to go on board it himself, and to pass the summer in visiting the several quarters of the coast; for the guard whereof, each of the three squadrons, into which it was divided, was destined: and he passed the winter and spring in making a progress through the rest of his kingdom, to see how his officers did their duty, to hear the complaints of his people, and to redress their grievances. By these means, by a strict administration of justice, by his encouragement of arts and commerce, by acts of compassion to the distressed, and of liberality to all persons,⁶ and by the credit of *Dunstan*, he enjoyed an uninterrupted peace at home: and his reputation was so great abroad, that it drew

¹ *Chron. J. Wallingford. Sim. Dun. De gest. regum*, p. 208.

² *Fordun*. l. iv. c. 25.

³ *Chron. J. Wallingford*.

⁴ *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 8.

⁵ The others were *Malcolm* lord of *Cumberland*,

Mach king of *Man* and the *Isles*, three princes of *Wales*, whose annual tribute of money is said to be released for one of wolves; and two toparchy of *Galloway* and *Westmoreland*. *Flor. Wig. M. Westm.* ⁶ *Ib.*

over from all parts abundance of foreigners, of *Flemings*, *Germans*, and *Danes*; EDGAR.
 who might perhaps add to the splendour of his court, but did little service to the nation, by infecting the *English* with the vices of their respective countries. It was certainly owing, in a great measure¹, to that prelate's advice, vigour, and activity, that *Edgar* acted so wisely in his publick conduct; for his private² life was sullied with great vices and enormities, and even his publick conduct at first was such, that king *Canute* made no scruple to pronounce him a tyrant³. He was naturally indolent, devoted to his pleasures, and so abandoned to women, that he did not stick at rapes, even of nuns, to gratify his irregular appetite. *Dunstan* did not fail to make him frequent remonstrances on the subject; and all proving fruitless, put him at last to seven years penance: but the king was so continually repeating his offences of this kind, that it was not till the latter end of his reign, that the archbishop could find a proper time to crown him; it not being deemed lawful to use the rite of unction in the case of a prince, subject to a canonical censure and in a state of penance. He was at last anointed on *Whitsunday*, with great solemnity, at *Bath*⁴: and died about two years after, in the thirty-third of his age, on *July 8*, A. D. 975.

EDGAR was succeeded by his eldest son *Edward*, born of his first wife *Elfreda*, S. EDWARD.
 the fair daughter of *Ordmer*, a nobleman of great power and of the first quality in the kingdom⁵. He had afterwards, in A. D. 964, married⁶ *Ælfrida*, daughter of *Ordgar*, duke of *Devon*, and widow of his favourite *Ethelwolf*; by whom he had *Edmund*, who died in his infancy, and *Ethelred*, who lived to reign in the true order of succession. This last prince was not full seven years old, when his father died⁷; yet his mother, an intriguing, artful, ambitious woman, aspiring to the government of the kingdom in her son's name, formed a party among the nobility (who taking advantage of the two late minorities, had greatly enlarged their power) in order to advance him to the throne, by supplanting his elder brother. These views and⁸ measures being opposed by most of the dukes, already possessed of as much power as they could expect, were defeated without any disturbance; chiefly by the unanimity of the prelates, and the firmness of *Dunstan*, who crowned *Edward* at *Kingston*. Whether *Ostac* had been engaged in this conspiracy, or guilty of any other misdemeanours in his government of *Deira*⁹, he was at this time driven out of *England*: and the nation lived in quiet during this king's reign, unmolested by any foreign invasion, and without any intestine squabble, but what related to the monks and secular canons. *Alfere*, duke of *Mercia*, with many of the nobility, supported the latter; and endeavoured to restore them to the monasteries, whence they had been expelled: but *Ethelwin*, or *Aylwin*, and *Brithnot*, dukes of the *East-Angles*, and *East-Saxons*, with a strong party of the lay lords, and the most active of the bishops, exerting themselves as strenuously in behalf of the former, the matter in dispute was debated in several councils held at *Winchester*, *Kirtlington*, *Calne*, and *Ambresbury*; where by the king's favour, or on the credit of some pretended miracles, which the monks never wanted on any occasion, a determination was made in their favour. *Edward* had assigned *Dorsetshire* to his stepmother for her dower: and being hunting in those parts near *Corf-castle*¹⁰, where she resided with

¹ *Eadmer* in *Vit. Dunstan*. p. 425. ² *Hoveden*, *Brompton*, col. 909. ³ *Alured*. *Bever*. l. viii. *Flor. Wig. Angl. Sac.* t. i. 223.

⁴ *Brompton*, p. 865. *Sim. Dun. De gest. regum*.

⁵ *Edgar* had stood godfather to her son by *Ethelwolf*, which spiritual relation made *Dunstan* insist on a divorce, but the king's passion was too strong to consent to a separation, tho' he submitted to a

penance of fasting, and he being a patron of the monks, was allowed to live with her, tho' in *Edward's* case, nothing but a divorce would be admitted. *Brompton*, p. 866. 7.

⁷ *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 9. ⁸ *Sim. Dun. De gest. regum*. A. D. 975. ⁹ *Chron. Sax.* A. D. 975.

¹⁰ *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 9.

S. EDWARD. her son, came unattended from his sport to make a visit to his brother. *Elfrida*, delighted to find, what she had long wished, a favourable opportunity of dispatching him, and setting her own son upon the throne, received him with great marks of respect and tenderness: but ordered one of her servants to stab him, as he was drinking at the gate on horseback. The king falling, and his foot hanging in the stirrup, the horse ran away with his corpse: but it being found by the track of the blood, was at first buried privately at *Wareham*, and afterwards removed to *Shaftesbury*. Whether *Elfrida* was troubled with any remorse for this assassination, or was enjoined by way of penance to commute for her crime, according to the fashion of the age, she founded two nunneries, the one at *Warewelle*, where her first husband was killed by *Edgar's* order, the other at *Ambresbury*, by way of reparation.

ETHELRED. EDWARD being murdered¹ on *March 18, A. D. 978*, *Ethelred* succeeded to the crown: and was on the fourteenth of *April* following, being the *Sunday* after *Easter*, anointed by the archbishops *Dunstan* and *Oswald* at *Kingston*. This prince was tall, handsome, and brave in his person; though, not knowing whom to trust in the whole course of his reign, his conduct appeared generally full of a diffidence, which seemed to argue a timorousness of nature. He had the misfortune of coming too young to the throne, and of being exposed to those defects of mind, which the flatteries of the attendants on a young monarch are apt to create, particularly to an habit and love of ease and pleasure, which such as make their court to him never fail to find their advantage in encouraging. This education did not qualify him to struggle with the difficulties he had to encounter; for though the first ten years of his reign passed without any remarkable disaster, besides the wasting of some parts of the *English* coast by small parties of *Danish* pirates, he felt soon after the fatal effects of the impolitick conduct of his predecessors.

State of the
kingdom in
his time.

XX. IN the times of the heptarchy, all the civil and military power of the several provinces that composed it, was vested in the aldermen or earls; who, by the influence and authority which this gave them in their respective districts, were enabled to raise great disturbances in the state. They enjoyed indeed this power only as officers under the crown, and were removeable at pleasure: but the wise *Alfred*, observing the inconveniencies which had arisen from the union of these powers, and thinking it too great a trust to be reposed in one and the same person, had taken care to separate them; and whilst the civil judicature was left to the alderman and sheriff, appointed a special governor, since termed a lord-lieutenant, to command the forces of a county. The three great princes that succeeded him in their order, *Edward*, *Athelstan*, and *Edmund*, observed the same policy: and the last of these, having dispersed the *Danes*, who living together in the country of the *five burghs* were by their union in a condition to set up an independent government, had left no power in any particular chieftain to disturb the quiet of his reign, and was sure of the obedience of his subjects. But *Edred*, a weak prince, fitter for a cloister than a crown, took different measures: and when he had suppressed the insurrection of the *Northumbrians*, he committed the government of all the provinces, which formerly composed that large kingdom, to *Osulf*; not as a simple governor, but with a right of inheritance descendible to his children. The *Mercian* and *English* lords, who engaged in the rebellion against *Edwey*, and set up *Edgar*, could not well be refused the like favour; in a time when the latter stood in need of their assistance to support his usurpation: and hence we find in the transactions of his reign, and in the signatures of his charters, mention made of the

¹ *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax.*

dukes of *Mercia*, of the *East* and *South-Saxons*, and of the *East-Angles*; whereas *Ethelred* nothing of that kind appears in former reigns on the like occasions.

THIS practice seems to have been taken up, in imitation of what had been doing for some time in *France*; where the *Carlovinian* kings had introduced it, and were continuing to give away the government of provinces in the same hereditary manner, till they had stripped the crown of all its power, and erected their vassals into sovereigns: which was soon followed by the destruction of the whole race of *Charle-Magne*. The term *duke* came now to be applied to such hereditary governors: and besides those in *England* already mentioned, whose power extended over whole kingdoms of the *heptarchy*, there were others created, who had the like power and claim of inheritance in their respective counties. Thus was the power of the crown weakened, and the royal authority rendered very precarious, when it was to be exercised over persons; who had only the name of vassals, and would obey no orders, but what suited their humours, their ambition, or their interests. They seem to have been much in the same state, as the *German* princes are now with regard to the *Emperor*; who own indeed his superior authority, and are obliged to furnish him troops on certain occasions, but those troops are still subject to their orders; and within their own territories they act as absolute masters: such appears to have been the conduct of the *English* dukes, during the *Danish* wars, in the reign of *Ethelred*.

THERE was another innovation; which if not so dangerous to the royal authority, was yet more oppressive to the nation. We have seen already the good effects of the militia formed by *Alfred*, and how admirably it served for the defence of the kingdom, when all his subjects were warriors, and every warrior was interested in its defence. Later kings had neglected that militia of natives, the natural guard of their country: and had taken into their service¹ a body of mercenary soldiers; of foreigners used to rapine, and upon whom they could have no dependance in a day of trial; though they were, in the mean time, an heavy burden, and contributed daily to the impoverishment of the kingdom. This corps was made up of the *Danes*, who had been turned out of their settlements, and finally subdued by *Edmund*: they had no inclination, and were scarce fit for any thing but war; and our kings had taken a number of them into their pay, to have an army always ready for any sudden expedition; every house that was able to provide for a man, having one quartered upon it, whom the owner was to supply with lodging and victuals. These fellows, who had nothing to do, were very² curious about their persons and dress; bathed every *Saturday*; changed their cloaths often; affected to be nice in every thing, and sumptuous in all their entertainments; being the first introducers of luxury among the *English*: and by these baits succeeded too much in corrupting the virtue of the ladies, to the dishonour of many noble families, and creating of an infinite deal of ill blood and dissension in the kingdom. Whether this corps of mercenaries was first introduced by our kings, among whom *Edgar* was particularly fond of these foreigners; it was undoubtedly much encouraged by the hereditary dukes; who having them in their service, made them the chief instruments of their oppression of the people; upon whom, whenever they were to levy any sum for *Danegeld*, they took care to raise as much more for the maintenance of their followers; as *Ingulf* complains in several places on account of such taxes and contributions levied upon his abbey of *Croyland*. These mercenary *Danes* had got into the best houses of the land: and had increased by degrees to such numbers, by the time that *Ethelred* came of age, that he durst not attempt to correct their disorders; though they were always ready to betray the nation to their countrymen.

¹ *Chron. J. Wallingford.*

² *Brompton, col. 877.*

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The Danes invade England.

XXI. IN these circumstances, when all the *English* had been, by a long peace, disused to war, and were utterly unexercised in arms; when all the military force of the nation was in the hands either of great men, who could not be depended on, or of mercenary soldiers, who kept intelligence with the enemy, and might reasonably be supposed to be in his interest, it would have puzzled a wiser man than *Ethelred*, to have known what to do, when two *Danish* chieftains¹, in *A. D.* 991, landed with a strong body of troops in *Essex*. *Britnot*, duke of the *East-Saxons*, marching against them with an unequal force, was defeated and slain near *Maldon*; by which disaster all the neighbouring countries lay exposed to their ravages. In this extremity, *Siricius*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwald*, son of *Aylwin*, duke of the *East-Angles*, founder of the abbey of *Ramsay*, and *Alfric*, son of *Alfer*, late duke of *Mercia*, who had succeeded their fathers in those governments, the territories whereof were, by their situation, the likeliest to suffer from the ravages of the *Danes*, advised *Ethelred* to make up the matter by treaty, and to purchase a peace of them by a sum of ten thousand pounds, which was paid accordingly. This dishonourable way of getting rid of an enemy, making other bodies of *Danish* pirates conclude, they should meet with little opposition, and be bought off in the same manner, they appeared the year following with a considerable fleet off the coast of the *East-Angles*; which was full of convenient harbours. The *English* were prepared to receive them; for *Ethelred* having called a great council, it had been resolved to assemble, from all parts of the kingdom, the best of its naval force to rendezvous at *London*: and orders were given to surprize or block up the *Danes* in some port, if possible. This design was spoiled by putting *Alfric* at the head of the armament; which enabled him to defeat the measures of the other commanders, when they were on the point of execution². He had, in *A. D.* 983, on his father's death, succeeded to the dukedom of *Mercia*: but did not hold it above three years, before he was expelled the kingdom: he had afterwards, as he was nearly related to the king, been restored to favour, and recovered possession of his dukedom; but probably still retained some animosity on account of his exile. Whether it was out of this, or some other motive, he sent the enemy intelligence of their danger: and deserting to them the night before the intended action, made them put to sea, to avoid an engagement; the consequence of which would, in all appearance, have been the destruction of their whole navy. Their hasty flight allowed only the *London* and *East-Angle* squadrons to come up with the *Danes*; of whom they slew however some thousands; though they took only one *Danish* ship, and that of *Alfric*, who very narrowly escaped. *Ethelred*, in his resentment of this treachery, put out the eyes of the traitor's sons; yet afterwards receiving him again into his service, gave him an opportunity of repeating his falsehood.

THE *Danish* expeditions hitherto had been only the enterprizes of private adventurers, but in *A. D.* 993, *Swein*, king of *Denmark*, and *Aulaf* of *Norway*, distinguished after his death by the title of *St. Olave*, came up the *Humber* with a royal armament; expecting to make an easy conquest of the country, or at least to raise contributions abundantly sufficient to defray the charges of the expedition. ³ *Lindsey* first felt their fury: but their chief impression was upon *Yorkshire*; where a great part of the inhabitants being originally *Danes*, they hoped to meet with little opposition. Nor were they deceived in their expectations; for an army being drawn together to oppose them, the three chief commanders, all of *Danish* race, fled as the battle was going to begin; leaving the field to the enemy, and the coun-

¹ *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 991.
A. D. 993, 994.

² *Ib. A. D.* 983, 986.

³ *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.*

try in despair of being ever able to unite in their own common defence. After ETHELRED: wintering in those parts, the two kings sailed the next year to the *Thames*, and invested *London*: but being bravely repulsed, with great loss of their men in all their assaults, by the citizens, they raised the siege, and wasted the adjoining counties of *Essex*, *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Hants* with fire and sword. To prevent these ravages, it was resolved in a council, which the king convened of the nobility, to give them sixteen thousand pounds, and supply them with provisions, on condition of their abstaining from plunder. In consequence of this agreement, they passed the winter quietly at *Southampton*: and *Aulaf* making a visit to *Ethelred*, then keeping his court at *Andover*, was received by him in an honourable manner; and the king stood godfather to him at his confirmation. This laying the foundation of a friendship between the two princes, *Aulaf* promised that he would never invade *England* again: and quitting *Swein* in the spring, returned home with his forces; a step, which gave occasion to that mortal enmity, which this *Danish* monarch bore all his life, and his son *Canute* after him, to the king of *Norway*.

SWEIN being forced, against his will, to return to *Denmark*, *England* was infested only with the landing of a few pirates now and then on the coast, till *A. D.* 999; when an army landed strong enough to undertake the siege of *Rocheſter*. The nobility, on this occasion, concurred with *Ethelred* in fitting out a fleet, as well as in raising a land-force to oppose the enemy; who, alarmed at those preparations, retired to *Normandie*, before they were attacked. This escape was owing to the divisions that reigned among the *English*, and to the affected delays of those who wished well to the *Danes*, and probably shared with them in the plunder of the nation; giving them intelligence on all occasions; starting difficulties and protracting matters, that the armament served only to create an useless expence, to oppress the people, and to make the enemy retreat for a time, in order to return after it was dispersed in a year or two, to ravage all the *West* with greater fury than ever. They did this without controul; whilst the defence of each county was left to its duke or governor, and the people, discouraged by a continued series of treacheries, did not care to stir to the assistance of their neighbours; so that in defect of relief from any other method, recourse was at last had to the shameful one of advancing twenty-four thousand pounds to the *Danes* to purchase their departure.

XXII. *ETHELRED* finding, by long experience, what little reason he had to depend on a nobility, whose power rivalled his own, or at least made them independent; and on a body of mercenaries, of the same blood and in intelligence with his enemies, resolved to strengthen himself by a foreign alliance; an expedient frequently made use of by our kings, but which hath seldom done them any service, or been of any benefit to the *English* nation. He had been, for the first thirteen years of his reign, on ill terms with *Richard*, duke of *Normandie*¹: and though the quarrel had been made up at the *Pope's* instance, by the mediation of the archbishop of *Treves*, yet there was no cordial friendship between them; and after *Richard's* death, his son, of the same name, allowed the *Danes* the use of his ports, which enabled them to make sudden descents upon the coasts of *England*, and served them as well for a secure retreat in case of danger, as for marts to dispose of their plunder. It was of great use to deprive the enemy of these conveniences: and he perhaps imagined, that the *Danes* being of the same blood with the *Normans*, might respect such an alliance, and choose for the future some other country than his, for the scene of their depredations. With these views, and with some expectation of succours on occasion, he concluded a marriage with the reign-

Ethelred marries Emma.

¹ *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 1002.

² *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 10.*

ETHELRED. ing duke's sister *Emma*, or *Elgiva* (as the *English* called her) who came over this year¹ into *England*: but whatever advantages he had reason to expect from this match, he soon deprived himself of them by a step, which not only exasperated the *Danes* to the last degree, but rendered him odious to the *Normans*.

Massacre of
the *Danes*

XXIII. THE grievances which the people suffered from the mercenary soldiers of *Danish* race, quartered upon them throughout *England*, to be the guardians of those, whose mortal enemies they had been, till subdued by them, have been already mentioned. These were grating enough in times of peace: but the pride, insolence, and oppressions of those soldiers rose with the war; in which they imagined themselves absolutely necessary² for the prince's service, and the nation's safety, to such a degree, that it was no longer to be born; and the king was teased with continual complaints on the subject. It was not in his power to redress these grievances: nor could he, without the concurrence of the dukes and principal nobility, break a corps of men subject to their orders, and which they considered as the best support of their own power; unless by proceeding to some violent extremity, which was very dangerous in his circumstances, and those of the nation. He knew very well they were useless and oppressive to the subject; he saw that they were of no service to himself; that they favoured his enemies; and were always ready to follow the great men, under whose immediate command they were, in their defection: and being elated with his late alliance, thought he might now venture on bolder measures. It was this alliance, which, as *Wallingford* and others say, encouraged him to abandon those mercenaries to the resentments of the people upon whom they were quartered: who massacred them all on *St. Brice's* day, *November* 13, with all that belonged to them; not sparing even women and children in their fury. The *Saxon Chronicle*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Malmesbury*, *Huntingdon* and others say, this was done by the king's express orders, upon discovering that they had formed a conspiracy to deprive him of his life and crown, and to divide the kingdom with his enemies. Whatever the motive to the massacre was, the generality of writers, who mention the time of its being perpetrated, place it on *St. Brice's* day, in *A. D.* 1002: but if *Wallingford* be right in a circumstance which he relates, and which helps to account for the feasibility of so general an execution, it being done on a *Saturday*, the day on which those *Danes* regularly bathed, and probably whilst they were bathing, it should rather be placed in the year following, when *St. Brice's* feast fell on a *Saturday*.

I WOULD willingly draw a veil over a scene of so much blood, treachery, and horror, which shews what the *English* are capable of acting; when what foreigners call the *ferocity* of their nature, is worked up into a rage, by a long continued series of the most provoking insults and oppressions; could I think it possible for our historians, who lived before the end of the same century, to be mistaken in a fact of so much notoriety. There is reason however to think, that the massacre was not so general as is imagined; that it was confined to some of those provinces, which had been formerly inhabited by the³ *Danes*; and that it was not committed in virtue of any royal order, but was the pure effect of a general popular resentment, concert, and commotion. It did not fall upon any of the piratical natives of *Denmark*; but upon those of *Danish* race, who had been for above a century settled in *England*: it drew however after it the solemn premeditated execution of a *Danish*

¹ *A. D.* 1002.

² *Chron. J. Wallingford.*

³ *English* proverbs generally are (not maxims for the conduct of life, like those of the *Spaniards*, but) expressions, that struck people at the time they were used on particular occasions, and have been retained, when the occasion has been forgot; it

seems therefore not improbable to imagine, that one I have known drop from the mouths of the country people in the *Mercian* counties, viz. *Every parish can kill its own fleas*, owed its original to this occasion.

princes; which being attended with the vilest breach of faith, could not fail of ETHELRED. producing terrible consequences.

UPON *Olave's* retiring with his forces to *Norway*, *Swein* had made a treaty with *Ethelred*: and had left his sister *Gunbald* an hostage for his performance of the conditions. She was married to count *Paling*, and had embraced *Christianity* since her being in *England*; where she was in the custody and resided within the government of *Edric*, surnamed *Streona*¹, who, till *Alfric's* death, was earl of *Wiltshire*, and then made duke of *Mercia*. This man, born for the ruin of his country, and worthy of the execration of all posterity, was a great favourite with *Ethelred*, who had given him his daughter *Edgitha*² in marriage: he was vastly rich, proud, cruel, crafty, and insinuating; knew how to dissemble his own sentiments, and fish out the secrets of others; having a tongue to persuade, and a head to contrive any mischief, which his insatiable avarice put him upon executing. He had made it his business to betray all the king's counsels to his enemies; when sent to treat with them of peace, he encouraged them to war; in which, if *Ethelred* had gained any advantage, he diverted him by some fetch or other from improving it: and when it became absolutely necessary, made an open defection to them; his sole view being to get money or plunder, and his whole life a continued scene of treachery. It was, in all appearance, by an effect of this treachery, and to provoke *Swein* to another invasion, that taking advantage of the popular fury against the *Danes*, he put her husband and son to death before her eyes, and then beheaded *Gunbald*; who suffered with great constancy and intrepidity, declaring that the shedding of her blood would prove the ruin of the *English* nation.

XXIV. THE event answered the fair unhappy lady's apprehensions. ³ Her brother, enraged at such an act of perfidy and barbarity, came with a great army in the spring: and landing in *Devon*, had *Exeter* delivered to him by the treachery of *Hugh* the *Norman*, whom *Emma* had made governor of the place; which else would, as late experience had shewn, have been bravely defended by the citizens. *Swein* next fell upon *Hants*, in order to penetrate into *Wiltshire*; and when the forces of those counties were drawn together to oppose him, *Alfric*, whom *Ethelred* had made general of the army, notwithstanding his former treachery, pretended, at the moment a battle was going to begin, that he was taken extremely ill; and the *English* retired without coming to any engagement. This allowed *Swein* to ravage all *Wiltshire*, and to burn *Wilton* and *Salisbury*, the theatre of his sister's murder, without opposition: but when he landed the year following in the *East-Angles*⁴, and having burnt *Norwich*, advanced to *Thetford*, he found a different reception from the brave *Ulfketel*, duke of the province. This nobleman hastily assembling a body of troops, much inferior to the enemy in number, attacked them with so much resolution, that though they made a shift, after a great loss of men, to get back to their ships, the *Danes* owned they had never been engaged in so furious a combat before in *England*. They met with no resistance in other parts: but securely ravaged ⁵ *Kent*, *Suffex*, and the *West-Saxon* provinces, till they were themselves distressed, as well as the *English*, by a famine, which overspread the land; and a sum of thirty-six thousand pounds purchased another temporary departure.

ETHELRED, to be prepared against their return, ⁶ ordered ships to be built all over the kingdom, every three hundred and ten hides of land being to furnish one; so that a greater fleet was now fitted out, than ever had been known in this nation:

¹ *Chron. Sax. A. D. 1007.* ² *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 10.* ³ *Hoveden. p. 429. Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. A. D. 1003.* ⁴ *Ib. A. D. 1004. Chron. Petriburg. Ingulf.* ⁵ *Chron. Sax. 1006, 1007.* ⁶ *Ib. A. D. 1008, 1009.*

ETHELRED. but when it had rendezvous'd at *Sandwich*, this mighty armament came to nothing, through the differences which reigned among the nobility; always more intent upon prosecuting their private quarrels; than in providing for the public necessities. *Wulfnoth*¹, father to the famous earl *Godwin*, was maliciously and falsely accused by his uncle *Brigtric*, brother to the traitor *Edric*; a proud, insolent, faithless, and ambitious man: and to save himself from being destroyed by the power of his enemies, fled with about twenty ships that were manned with his followers. *Brigtric* attempting to pursue him with eighty others, his squadron was drove ashore by a storm, and all the ships burnt by *Wulfnoth*. This caused such dissensions among the nobility, that they returned home: and the fleet, which had been equiped at a vast expence, was dispersed before *Lammas*; when the *Danes* appeared off the coast, and landing where they pleased, destroyed all the country with fire and sword. *Ethelred* tried to get his forces together: but when he had done so, they were always hindered from fighting by *Edric*, whom he had made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He summoned councils: but they either broke up without coming to any resolution, or if any were taken, it was never executed; so that at last none of the dukes would raise their forces, nor one county assist another. All parts were harassed by the armies either of friends or enemies; and all the kingdom was in this² miserable situation, when the dukes with others of the nobility, meeting in a council at *London*, resolved to give the *Danes* forty-eight thousand pounds to abstain from plundering. *Swein* however went on, reducing one county after another, till he was master of half the kingdom; and even *London*, which had long defended itself gallantly against all his attacks, was at last forced to submit to the³ conqueror. *Ethelred*, betrayed by his dukes, deserted by all, seeing little hopes of safety in any place, and more apprehensive of danger from the treachery of his own subjects than from the strength of his open enemies, took refuge in the *Isle of Wight*: and sent his queen thence, with her two sons into *Normandie*, to see if he might be well received in that country. The reason of his doubt arose from his own conduct; for being extremely given to wine and women, he had treated *Emma* very indifferently; which she, being a woman of great spirit and an haughty temper, could not bear; and thence animosities had ensued, into which her brother entered. But *Richard II*, duke of *Normandie*, being a prince of great magnanimity, easily remitted all his resentment at his sister's intreaty: and inviting *Ethelred* over, he went, *Rouen* with a full assurance of safety, and some hopes of succours.

And dying, is
succeeded by
Canute.

XXV. THE king had not been in *Normandie* six weeks when *Swein* died⁴, on Feb. 3, A. D. 1014, at *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*, after having laid on the *English* an insupportable tax (of which the share of the abbey of *Croyland* amounted to two thousand marks) sufficient to cure them of any inclination to the *Danish* government. *Ethelred* was upon this event recalled, with the appearance of great unanimity; and coming over before the end of Lent, marched into *Lindsey* against *Canute*; who avoiding an engagement, and cruelly treating the *English* hostages in his hands, sailed for *Denmark*⁵, to take possession of his father's kingdom. He returned however the next year; and made his advantage of the *English* dissensions, which had been again revived upon *Edric* duke of *Mercia*'s assassinating *Sigefert* and *Morcar*, two very considerable noblemen in the countries beyond *Trent*, at a great council held in *Oxford*. *Ethelred*, rapacious on all occasions, caused the effects of the deceased to be confiscated: and *Sigefert*'s relict, *Algitba*, a lady of

¹ *Flor. Wig. A. D. 1007. p. 430.*

⁴ *Chron. Sax. and Petriburg. A. D. 1014.*

² *Chron. Petriburg. A. D. 1012.*

⁵ *Ib. A. D. 1015.*

³ *Malmsb. ib.*

great merit and extraordinary beauty, to be carried prisoner to *Malmesbury*; where ETHELRED.
his eldest son prince *Edmund* fell in love with her, and married her without his
father's consent. *Canute* landing at this juncture in the country of the *West-Saxons*,
Edric levied an army in *Mercia*, and *Edmund* another in the north, to oppose his
progress¹. *Edric* tried all means to betray or kill the prince: and not being able
to effect his purpose, retired with his troops, which prevented a battle. The tray-
tor then finding he could no longer act a part of dissimulation, made an open re-
volt to *Canute* with forty ships: and drew him with his forces the year following
into *Mercia*. There *Edmund* proposed to engage him: but when he had got a
body of troops together, they would not fight; unless the king was present and
they were joined by the *Londoners*. When these came up, the king discovered a
conspiracy for delivering him up to the enemy², which obliged him to dismiss
the army, and return to *London*; whilst the prince retired to *Uchtred* earl of
Northumberland, who had married his sister *Elfgiva*. Thither *Canute* pursued his
conquests: and wasting the country horribly, forced *Uchtred* to a submission;
which the *Dane* soon abused by causing him to be murdered and giving his earl-
dom to *Yric*, whom he afterwards banished. *Edmund* had now no place of refuge
left in the north: and was forced to retire to *London*³; whither he got with great
difficulty, but not unseasonably; his father dying there soon after⁴; on *Monday*
April 23, A. D. 1016. *Ethelred* had by his first wife *Ethelgiva*, an *English* lady,
daughter of earl *Thored*, three sons, *Edmund*, *Edwin*, and *Athelstan*: of which
the last died young; the second was afterwards made away by *Canute's* order; and
by his second wife, two other sons, *Alfred* and *Edward*, whom their mother im-
mediately after his death sent into *Normandie*.

XXVI. THE city of *London*, and such of the great men as were there assembled at the
time of *Ethelred's* death, immediately proclaimed *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironside*, from
his hardness in bearing the fatigues of war; and he was soon after crowned by
Livingus archbishop of *Canterbury*; but the bishops, abbots, and the greatest part of
the nobility were more inclined to *Canute*, and offered to receive him for their
sovereign. *Edmund*, to put a stop to so general a defection, advanced into the *West-*
Saxon provinces: and by the defeat of a body of *Danes* in *Rogation-week* at *Penne*
in *Somersetshire*, secured them in his obedience. He marched thence after *Mid-*
summer into *Mercia*: and duke *Edric* having joined his forces with those of *Ca-*
*nute*⁵, they met him at *Sceorstan* on the borders of *Gloucester* and *Worcester* shires;
where a battle ensued. The fate of it seemed for a long time doubtful; *Edmund*
discharging the part of a brave soldier, as well as of a wise commander, had
pierced at last so far into the enemies ranks, that victory was on the point of de-
claring for him⁶: when *Edric* erecting on a spear the head of one *Osmer*, very
like *Edmund* in the face, and calling out to the *English* to fly since their king was
slain, they began accordingly to give way; till *Edmund* getting on a rising ground
and pulling off his helmet, shewed them that he was living, and brought them on
again to the combat, which the *Danes*, by the help of that wile, made a shift to
protract till the evening. *Canute* not daring to venture an engagement the next
day, marched off silently in the night, to join the rest of his forces; which he had
left to guard his ships and block up *London*. *Edmund* following him thither, raised
the siege: and having routed him near *Brentford*, forced him to retire into *Kent*;
where *Canute* made a fruitless attempt upon *Rocheſter*, and was defeated again in
two successive battles at *Otford* and *Ailesford*. The last of these would have been

EDMUND.

¹ *Huntingdon*, l. vi. *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 10. ² *Flor. Wig. Simon. Dun. De gestis regum*, A. D. 1017.
³ *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. De gest. regum.* ⁴ *Brampton*, col. 977. *Flor. Wig.* ⁵ *Hoveden*, p. 488.
⁶ *Flor. Wig. Hoveden*, p. 455.

EDMUND.

fatal to the *Danes*, but for *Edric*; who in concert with him had made his submission to *Edmund*, and, as his power made him worth gaining, and his relation to the king procured credit to his professions, had been received into favour upon his oath of fidelity. His dignity entitling him to a principal command in the king's army, enabled him likewise to put a stop to the pursuit; which gained time for the shattered remains of the *Danish* troops to recover their ships, and pass over the river into *Essex*, where they recruited their forces. *Edmund* was not long before he attacked them at *Ashdown* in that county; and had at first the advantage: but *Edric* treacherously flying with the wing he commanded, struck such a terror into the rest, that the *Danes* falling upon the other wing with all their force, made a terrible slaughter of the *English*; some prelates, who had come to pray for the king's success², the brave *Ulfketel*, several other loyal dukes, and the flower of the nobility, being left dead on the field of battle. *Edmund* retired to *Gloucester*, to raise fresh forces: and *Canute* following him thither, the two armies were drawn up facing one another; whilst the two kings either fought a duel, as some writers say, or at least whilst they made an agreement at the instances of the *Danish* as well as *English* nobility; by which they agreed to divide the kingdom between them; *Canute* being to keep all the provinces of *Mercia* and *Northumberland* which he already possessed, and the rest of *England* remaining to *Edmund*. This prince equally humane, just, generous, and intrepid³, from whom the *English* hoped to see their monarchy restored to its former lustre, did not survive this convention above a month; when he was basely murdered about the end of *November*, at *Oxford*⁴, by the agents of the traitor *Edric*, and was buried at *Glastenbury*. His two sons, *Edwin* and *Edward* were, by the advice of *Edric*, and the orders of *Canute*, willing to shift the odium of their murder off himself, sent to the king of the *Suevi*, with a request that he would put them to death: but this prince, moved with compassion of their unhappy fate, sent them to *Solomon* king of *Hungary*, who received them kindly, and *Edwin* dying in his court, he gave his queen's sister *Agatha*, daughter of the emperor *Henry II*, in marriage to *Edward*; who had issue by her *Edgar Atheling*, *Christian* a nun, and *Margaret* queen of *Scotland*.

CANUTE.

Canute's manner of government.

XXVI. CANUTE convening all the *English* nobility at *London*⁵, asked those who were witnesses to the agreement between him and the deceased king, and who had probably been prepared before, what had passed in their discourse at that time about the kingdom in case of *Edmund's* death, in relation either to his brothers or children. Their reply being, that *Edmund* had recommended no part of the realm to his brothers, but had desired that his sons might be under the guardianship and protection of *Canute*, this last was thereupon saluted king: and the prelates, with the rest of the nobility, took the usual oath of allegiance. The witnesses imagined, they should make their court to the new prince by an answer, which, though a notorious falsehood, was calculated for his service: but though he was willing to profit by their perjury, he judged wisely, that those who had been false to their natural and rightful sovereigns, would never be true to a foreigner, who had seized the crown; and he put them all to death soon after. The arch-traitor *Edric* well deserved the same fate, and did not long survive them; for at⁶ the *Christmas* following, having the impudence to upbraid *Canute* openly with the services he had done him, by the treacheries he had been guilty of towards *Ethelred* and *Edmund*;

¹ *Huntingdon, Howeden.* ² *Hist. Ramsey.* *Fordun.* p. 116. *Sim. Dun. De gest. regum.*
c. 72. *Hist. Eliens.* l. ii. c. 13, 21. *Malmesb.* ³ *Flor. Wig.* ⁴ *Ingulf. Malmesb.* l. ii.
l. ii. c. 10. *Flor. Wig.* ⁵ *Rudborne,* l. iii. c. 15. c. 11 *Sim. Dun. De gest. regum. Hist. Ramsey.*
Chron. J. Wallingford. ⁶ *Hearne's Pref. to* c. 84.

he was, upon this confession, ordered immediately to a traitor's punishment, being hanged, and his corpse thrown into the *Thames*. His three sons were put to death at the same time, with *Norman*, son of duke *Leofwine*, *Ethelward*, son of duke *Agelmar*, *Brigbtric*, son of *Alfage*, earl of *Devonshire*, and others of the most considerable of *Edric's* relations and followers: but as *Canute* had a great esteem and affection for *Leofric*, brother to *Norman*, he gave him the government which the other had enjoyed. His view in these executions was to break the power of the *English* nobility, upon whose fidelity he could not depend, by taking off the chief of them, that might serve for leaders to the rest on occasion. The same end was pursued in his taking away the estates¹ of abundance of the *English*, and giving them to his *Danes*; who, encouraged by the king's favour, took upon themselves to seize what lands they thought fit: it is almost incredible, or (as the historian² says) no pen is able to describe the mischiefs they did, by their rapines, under colour of the royal protection. The good old laws, ordinances, and customs, which had been collected and put in writing by the just and wise king *Alfred*, *Canute* thought too favourable to liberty for the nation, which had long been happy under them, to enjoy; and made it his business to set them aside, that he might subject every thing to his own arbitrary will and pleasure. Whether it was to impoverish the *English*, or to reward his *Danish* forces, the greatest part of which he sent away, retaining only forty ships of his fleet³, he laid a tax of eighty-two thousand pounds upon the kingdom; of which *London* was assessed for its share ten thousand and five hundred pounds; an evident mark of the greatness and opulence of that city.

SUCH were the beginnings of *Canute's* government; which suiting rather the character of an enemy, than a king, could not fail of raising a general discontent among the people, and rendered it necessary for him to take proper precautions for the security of his throne against any rival that might disturb his possession. He had nothing to fear from *Edmund's* children, who were mere infants, and in a distant country: but *Alfred* and *Edward*, sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma*, now grown up to be about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and supported by their uncle *Richard* II, duke of *Normandie*, to whose invasion all that part of *Britain*, in which the *English* interest most prevailed, lay open, gave him no small uneasiness. *Richard* had, by his ambassadors, demanded in their behalf the moiety of the kingdom⁴, which had belonged to *Edmund*: and he could not find a better way to elude the demand, to make a friend of that duke, and to ingratiate himself with the *English*, than by proposing a marriage with *Emma*, the widow of *Ethelred*; whom the nation had been long used to obey, and expected to find their patroness. It was indifferent to *Richard*, whether his nephews by *Canute* or *Ethelred* sat upon the throne of *England*; he might expect a more useful ally in the former, than he had ever found in the latter: and for these political reasons, without any regard to justice or decorum, he agreed to the match⁵; and sending over his sister, she was married at the latter end of *July* to *Canute*. This prince seeing a good effect of this measure proceeded, in the next year to a more material act of complaisance to the *English*, by giving his consent, in the great council held at *Oxford*, to the re-establishment of the laws of the *Saxon* monarchs⁶.

XXVIII. HAVING thus provided for the quiet of the nation, he ventured the year following to pass over into *Denmark*⁷; where, in an expedition against the

He goes to
Denmark.

¹ *Hist. Ramsfey*, c. 86, 87. ² *Chron. J. c. 11. Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. and Petriburg. Wallingford.* ³ *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. and A. D. 1017.* ⁴ *ib. A. D. 1018.* ⁵ *Malmesb. 1. ii. c. 11.* ⁶ *Chron. J. Wallingford. Malmesb. 1. ii. c. 11.* ⁷ *ib. Hungtingdon.*

CANUTE. *Swedes, Godwin, styled sometimes earl of Kent, sometimes duke of the West-Saxons, did him a very acceptable service; falling upon the enemy by night, and routing them without the knowledge of Canute himself, or any assistance from the rest of his army. This endeared the English to him ever after: and put Godwin so highly in his favour, that he gave him one of his ¹ sisters, or rather, as Adam Bremensis says, ² Thyra, sister of his brother-in-law Ulf, in marriage, and thinking he had sufficiently secured his fidelity by this alliance, maintained him in all his power and dignity, at a time when he was resolved to extinguish that exorbitant ducal authority, which had been raised in the times of Edred, Edgar, and Ethelred, and had proved the ruin of the English monarchy.*

It was upon his return from *Denmark*, that he put this design in execution. The necessity of his affairs, when he first came to the crown, had obliged him to submit to a kind of partition of his dominions; assigning the government of *Mercia* to *Edric*, who enjoyed it before, of *Northumberland* to *Yric*, and of the *East-Angles* to *Turkil*, who, though a *Dane*, and coming over first as an enemy, had afterwards with a squadron of forty-five ships entered into the service of *Ethelred*. He had already got rid of *Edric*, and most of his partisans that were possessed of any considerable power; he now drove *Yric* and *Turkil* out of the kingdom, banished *Ethelward*, an *English* duke, and left none in any condition to dispute his orders, or raise a disturbance; besides his favourites *Godwin* and *Leofric*, the only noblemen that bear the title of duke or earl in the signature of his charters. To oblige the nation in general, and to shew a remorse for the blood he had shed, he built churches at *Asbdon*, and all the places where any slaughter had been made of the *English*; founded chantries to pray for their souls; repaired various monasteries, that had suffered by the *Danes*; and erected one at *Bury* in honour of *St. Edmund*, a saint highly revered all over *England*, who had been murdered an hundred and fifty years before, by his ancestors. By these methods he gained the hearts of the *English*: and being secure at home, had leisure to extend his conquests in other parts; particularly in *Norway*, where the mildness, justice, and piety of king *Olave* were not agreeable to his subjects; who thought it an intolerable grievance to be restrained from the piracies, to which they had been ever accustomed. *Canute* inherited his father's resentment against that excellent prince: and to insure success to the invasion he meditated, sent great presents of money to the principal *Norwegian* lords and heads of clans, to engage them in his interest ⁴. His bribes were accepted, and assurances being given that they would join him on his landing, he sailed to *Norway*, with a fleet too strong for *Olave* to oppose: and the *Norwegians* deserting their prince, he was forced to take refuge, first in *Sweden*, and afterwards in *Russia*. *Olave*, about two years after, made an attempt to recover his crown: but being deserted by some of his forces, and overpowered by numbers, was slain in the battle of *Sticklastad*.

And to Rome. XXIX. NOTHING was wanting to establish in the minds of the people an opinion of *Canute's* religion, but a journey to *Rome* to obtain a full pardon for all his sins: and taking it in *A. D.* 1031, he purchased of the princes in his way, an exemption from toll for all *English* merchants and pilgrims, and obtained from the Pope some privileges for the *English* school in that city, with a promise of redress in the point of those excessive sums, which were exacted from the metropolitans

¹ *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 13. ² *Pontani Hist. Danic.* l. v. *A. D.* 1066, 1042. *Adam. Bremenf.* l. ii. c. 37.

³ He had by her one son, who was drowned in the *Thames*, but had six by his second wife *Gytha*, born in the following order: *Swein*, *Ellad*, *Tosti*, *Walmeth*, *Girth*, and *Leofric*, of which *Tosti* was

(with *Haquin*, *Swein's* son) an hostage in *Normandie* for his father's behaviour to king *Edward*, and remained there till after the conquest. See *Knigton* col. 2333. *Malmesb.* &c.

⁴ *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1027, 1028.

of *England* for the pall; and which he had complained of as an intolerable grievance¹. He returned home by *Denmark*, and in the way wrote, by *Livingus* abbot of *Tavistoke*, the companion of his travels, a letter² to the great men of *England*; ordering all the sheriffs and officers in his realm, to administer justice impartially; to prevent all oppression; particularly in the case of the poor; and to see that all church dues were regularly paid to the clergy. His conduct afterwards was agreeable to the professions in his letter; taking particular care that³ the laws of the old *Saxon* kings, hitherto neglected, should be inviolably observed for the future, and providing, by some of his own⁴, for the better keeping of the Lord's day, and the regular practice of religion; forbidding markets, fairs, and other secular assemblies to be held on a *Sunday*; and enjoining all *Christians* to come, at least thrice a year, to receive the eucharist.

XXX. ENGLAND had hitherto enjoyed a profound peace during this prince's reign: but now *Canute* thought himself obliged, in honour, to undertake a warlike expedition on the following occasion⁵. *Malcolm* II, king of *Scotland*, holding *Cumberland* in vassalage of the crown of *England*, had been ordered by *Ethelred*, when *Danegeld* was first established, to levy upon the *Cumbrians* their proportion of that tribute: but he absolutely refused to do so, alledging that his people owed tribute to no body besides the king, and were always ready to fight with their enemies. This answer, which came very properly from⁶ a brave prince, who beat the *Danes* as oft as they landed on his coasts, incensed *Ethelred* to such a degree, that he employed the armament he had been preparing against those pirates, in an expedition to *Cumberland*, and wasted the country: but the two kings soon came to an agreement, and *Malcolm*, from that time, had neither paid any tribute, nor acknowledged *Canute*, whom he looked upon as an usurper. *Duncan*, grandson to *Malcolm*, and heir apparent to the crown of *Scotland*, was properly the person who held that county; and had been summoned over and over, by *Canute*, to do him homage: but had as often refused it; declaring it was not due to him by any right, but only to the *English* born kings of *England*. *Canute* resenting this affront, as soon as he was returned from his *Roman* pilgrimage, marched with a great army to reduce *Cumberland*: and *Malcolm* met him with another, ready to give him battle. To prevent the effusion of blood, the prelates and nobility interposed: and an accommodation being made, it was agreed, that *Duncan*, and the heirs of future kings of *Scotland*, for the time being, should hold *Cumberland* as freely as any of their predecessors, and should pay the usual homage to *Canute* and his successors, kings of *England*. Thus ended the quarrel: and *Canute* passing the rest of his days in peace, died at *Shaftesbury*⁷ on November 12, A.D. 1035; leaving by his first wife *Alfwen*, daughter of *Elfbelm*, earl of *Northampton*, two sons, *Sweyn* and *Harold*; and by *Emma*, who survived him, a son named *Hardicnute*, and a daughter *Gunbild*, married to the emperor *Henry* III.

XXXI. CANUTE had taken care, before his death, to put his sons *Hardicnute* and *Sweyn* in possession⁸, the one of *Denmark*, and the other of *Norway*: but had made no provision for a successor in the kingdom of *England*; which necessarily occasioned a dispute between these different races of children. When the *English* prelates and nobility met upon this occasion, there appeared three parties in the council; some being for *Hardicnute*, as descended from a more honourable mother, and born undoubtedly in lawful wedlock; others for *Harold*, as the elder brother, though the

¹ *Ib.* A. D. 1031.² *Malmesb. ib.* Ingulf.³ *Malmesb. ib.*⁴ *LL. Canute*, c. 15, 19.⁵ *Malmesb. ib.* Fordun. Scot. l. iv. c. 35, 41.⁶ *Flor. Wig.* A. D. 1000.*Hist. Ramsai.* c. 94. *Ingulf. Hunt.**Sacr.* i. 235.⁷ *Ib.* A. D. 1035.⁸ *Angl.*

HAROLD I.

marriage of his mother, or his own legitimacy, was questioned; and others again for one of the sons of *Ethelred*, who were then in *Normandie*. These last princes had found a true friend in their cousin *Robert*, duke of that province¹; he had taken their cause under his protection, and had fitted out a fleet well provided with forces, in order to make a descent, and put them on the throne of *England*: but it had been shattered by a storm, and the enterprize miscarried. He resolved however to fit out another armament; and *Canute* hearing that the preparations were not laid aside, was so alarmed at them, and diffident of his own cause, that he sent ambassadors to *Alfred* and *Edward* with offers of half the kingdom of *England*; which were made in a full audience of the *Norman* nobility convened by *Robert* on that occasion. The effect of these offers was deferred by a pilgrimage; which this duke, in a fit of devotion, made to the holy land: and dying in his return at *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, a little before *Canute's* decease, his dominions had fallen into the hands of a child; who stood in need himself of protection, and *Ethelred's* sons were left without any support. This was a fatal blow to their cause: and the dispute was soon reduced to two candidates; the one of which could assist his friends with the power of *Denmark*, and the other with that of *Norway*. The *Danes* settled in² *London*, with the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, were for *Harold*; whilst the rest of the *English*, with archbishop³ *Egelnoth*, at their head, in despair of carrying their point in favour of *Ethelred's* sons, appeared full as strenuous for *Hardicnute*, as being born of *Emma*. The dispute was carried on with so much heat, that a civil war was generally expected: but it was at last terminated by an agreement, that *London*, with the northern parts of *England* beyond the *Thames*, should belong to *Harold* (whom, notwithstanding the agreement, *Egelnoth* refused to crown) and the counties which lay south of the river, to *Hardicnute*. *Harold*, as soon as his father's funeral at *Winchester* was over, had taken care to seize all his treasure⁴: and it was probably the influence of this money, which procured him the larger share in the division of the kingdom.

By the agreement made for that purpose, it was provided⁵ that *Emma* should reside in *Winchester*, with the officers and servants of her son *Hardicnute*, for the government of the *West-Saxons*; among whom earl *Godwin* had the principal authority: and thither her sons by *Ethelred* came the year following to visit⁶ her, with about a thousand soldiers in their train, who attended them from *Normandie*⁷. Whether they had any design of setting up their claim to the crown, their coming is said to have given great offence to the *English* nobility,⁸ especially to earl *Godwin*; who, though he had appeared zealous for them in the council of *London*, might possibly apprehend they would, by their interest with *Emma*, lessen his power among the *West-Saxons*; and it could not fail of giving great umbrage to *Harold*, who readily formed a design to get rid of *Alfred*, the eldest and most active of those young princes. It could not well be executed, at least in the dominions of *Hardicnute*, without *Godwin's* assistance; which renders it very probable, that he had drawn him into his measures; and this earl was certainly the instrument employed, as well to persuade *Alfred* to make a visit to *Harold* upon the invitation sent him, as to seize him and his followers on the road at *Guilford*. *Harold*, surnamed *Harefoot*, from his speed⁹ and fondness for walking, which made him despise

¹ *Chron. J. Wallingford, Guil. Gemetic.* l. vi. c. 12. ² *Ingulf.* ³ *Emmæ Encomium.*

⁴ *Sim. Dun. De gest. regum, A. D. 1035.*

⁵ *Chron. Sax.* ⁶ *Sim. Dun. A. D. 1036.* *Hist. Eliens.* l. ii. c. 37. ⁷ *Wace*, in his history of *William the Conqueror*, p. 415, says, that *Edward* and *Alfred* sailed with forty ships from *Har-*

flour to *Southampton*; but finding the *English* not inclined to rise in their favour, *Edward* returned

to *Normandie*: and *Alfred* went, in a large vessel, to *Witsand* (which *Guil. Pictaviensis* calls *Portus Iccius*, whence he passed into *Kent* upon an invitation from earl *Godwin*; who joining him with his men, found an opportunity to seize the young prince and his followers at *Guilford*. See also *Emmæ Encomium*, and *Guil. Pictaviens.* ⁸ *Malm.* l. ii. c. 12. ⁹ *Howden*, p. 418. *Brompt.* col. 832. *Sim. Dun. A. D. 1036. Chr. Maitros.*

riding, was wilful, obstinate, brutal, and cruel; very capable of giving orders for the most shocking barbarities: but if they had not suited *Godwin's* inclinations, he would not have been concerned in their execution; and whoever is charged with orders, though he cannot alter their substance, hath always a good deal, in the manner of executing them, left to his discretion. Whether *Alfred's* refusal to marry his daughter (as some historians¹ suggest) perhaps attended with certain expressions of contempt, had worked up *Godwin's* pride into a frantick rage, he put six hundred of the *Normans* to death with various kinds of torments, and with all the circumstances of indignity and inhumanity. *Alfred* himself was sent under a guard to *Ely*: and had his eyes put out before he entered the monastery²; where he languished for a short time, and died miserably.

EMMA, on the news of this scene of treachery and horror, sent her son *Edward* in all haste back to *Normandie* for safety: and was the year following reduced herself to the like condition of an exile. *Hardicnute*, taken up with his affairs in *Denmark*, or perhaps suspecting the frequent and importunate invitations of *Godwin*; and not caring to trust himself in a country made infamous by the blackest treasons against the persons of their kings and the princes of the royal family, had neglected coming over to take possession of his share of the kingdom. This giving (as it is said) great offence to the *English*, *Harold* took advantage of their discontent: and seized it without any difficulty; no body being capable of making opposition, but *Godwin*, who was embarked in his interests too far to retreat. *Normandie* was then in such a condition, that *Emma* could not promise herself a decent subsistence there: and being obliged to quit *England* in the beginning of winter, she sailed into *Flanders*; where she was kindly received, and during a stay of more than two years, honourably maintained by the noble *Baldwin*, count of that province. There *Hardicnute*, coming to visit her⁴ with a fleet of sixty ships, and such a force on board, as caused a suspicion that he designed an attempt upon *England*, had advice of the death of *Harold*; which happened on June 18, A. D. 1040: and the *Danish*, as well as *English* nobility, seeing him with such an armament in the neighbourhood, agreed so readily in inviting him over to take the crown, that he landed in *England* by *Midsummer*, and was received every where with great acclamations.

XXXII. WHATEVER expectations the *English* had from this prince, their joy was soon damped, by an heavy tax⁶ which he laid upon them, for the paying of twelve marks to every master of a ship, and of eight to every seaman in his navy. This amounted to a vast sum; too great for the nation to raise,⁷ especially at a time when corn was excessive dear, and there was evident danger of a famine: so that though it was, in a manner, familiar to them, by being used to pay it in the times of *Harold* and *Canute*, it became the subject of a general complaint and uneasiness among the people. Two of his officers, employed in collecting it, were murdered in a tumult at *Worcester*; an outrage which he punished severely, by sending an army to ravage the county, and burn the city. His resentment at the cruelty used to his brother *Alfred* was such, that he ordered *Harold's* corpse to be dug out of the grave, the head to be cut off, and the body thrown into the *Thames*; where being afterwards found by some fishermen, it was interred privately in the *Danes* burying place at *London*. *Alfric*, archbishop of *York*, and others, accusing *Godwin*, as concerned in that young prince's murder, this earl laid it entirely upon *Harold*: but was forced to purge himself of the crime upon oath, and to make his peace by

HARDIC-
NUTE.¹ Brompton, col. 935. Knighton, col. 2326. Flor.

Wig. an. 1036.

² Brompton, p. 935.³ Angl. Sacr. i. 2.⁶ Sim. Dun. Flor. Wig.

Chron. Sax. A. D. 1040.

⁷ Hunt. l. 6.⁴ Ib. 1037.⁵ Flor. Wig. A. D. 1040.

the present of a fine ship, sumptuously adorned, and curiously wrought, with an equipage suitable to it in all respects. The intercession and power of his relations, who were the most considerable persons in the realm, seems to be the reason, why such an excuse and satisfaction were accepted. The best part of *Hardicnute's* character and conduct lay in the regard that he shewed to his mother, and to his brother *Edward*¹; whom he invited over from *Normandie*, and treated very kindly and honourably: for after a reign of two years, wanting ten days, in which he had done nothing else remarkable, he died suddenly on *Tuesday, June 8, A. D. 1042*, at *Lambeth*, in the midst of the jollity of a wedding-dinner, which he had honoured with his presence.

EDWARD
the Confessor.
Ascends the
throne.

XXXIII. THE *English* were now cured of their fondness for a race of foreigners; who had loaded them with insupportable taxes, and made it their business, not so much to govern, as to plunder, the nation. The two last of that race had treated them with great contempt: and had encouraged certain odious distinctions between them and the *Danes*, with such ceremonies of respect and preference in favour of the latter², as the *English* spirit could not digest. This added to the old complaints of the insolence of the *Danes*, to the constant grievance of their free quarters, and to their habitual practice of debauching the wives and daughters of the natives, made the people seize the opportunity of *Hardicnute's* death, to rise in several places against those foreigners, and either put them to the sword, or drive them out of the kingdom. The prelates and nobility, meeting on the same occasion; and either complying with the humour of the people, or dreading the *Norman* power ready to support *Edward*³, were at last unanimous for restoring the old line of their *Saxon* kings, and in offering the crown to *Edward*, son of *Ethelred*⁴, who was then in *England*; but being perfectly free from ambition, fond of a quiet life, and apprehensive, as well of the troubles which attend royalty, as of the danger of his own person in the disputes for it, was thinking to retire into *Normandie*. *Godwin* undertook to persuade him to accept it: and charged himself the rather with this commission, as it afforded him an opportunity of providing, by certain stipulations with the prince, for his own security, against the general odium he lay under, and the violent suspicions entertained of him, on account of the death of *Alfred*⁵. With this view he proposed, that *Edward* should continue him and his sons in the governments which they already enjoyed, and should marry his daughter *Egitha*; whom historians celebrate as the most accomplished lady of the age; beautiful in her person, mild in her temper, humble and condescending in her behaviour, regular in her devotions, zealous to do good, and prudent in all her actions; distinguished by an excellent understanding, improved by an uncommon degree of knowledge and learning⁶. The prince had no reason to refuse a match with a young lady of so amiable a character: whose birth was suitable to his dignity: nor could he well make a difficulty about continuing *Godwin's* family in employments, which it was not in his power to take away. He might likewise imagine, that this alliance would absolutely secure *Godwin* in his interests, or at least restrain him from those seditious and treasonable practices; which a prince hath reason to apprehend from a turbulent and imperious man, who has it always in his power to distress a government. *Edward* accordingly agreed to the conditions⁷: and was crowned by *Edsi*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, on *Easter-day, April 3, A. D. 1043*.

¹ *Ib. Hunt. Angl. Sacr.* i. 236. ² *Knighton*, col. 2326. ³ *Gul. Pict.* p. 181. ⁴ *Malmesb.* l. i. c. 13. ⁵ *Ailred. Vit. Edw. confessoris.* ⁶ *Inguiff.* ⁷ *Inguiff. Flor. Wig. Chr. Maitros. Howden.*

XXXIV. THIS prince had a fair, ruddy complexion¹; was well shaped, and handsome in his person: the royal robes and ornaments became him, when he sat upon his throne; but he did not care for that parade. He was an utter enemy to all luxury, and very sparing in his own diet; had not a grain of pride or avarice in his constitution; was kind, charitable, and liberal to foreigners, as well as natives; exceeding devout, and minded no worldly matter or exercise, but hunting; which he used every morning, as soon as divine service was over. The monkish writers extol his chastity: and though he married *Egitha*, and lived with her after the exterior fashion of other husbands; yet taking advantage of his having no children, they pretend that he never cohabited with her; for no other apparent reason, but for fear a married man should pass for a saint; a character which they would fain confine to the rules of their own profession. His primitive simplicity, meekness of spirit, scrupulous virtue, regular devotion, inoffensive manner of life, and above all, his great deference to the monks and clergy, and large benefactions to monasteries, seem to have merited that title from them: for he had all the good qualities which fit a man for a religious *recluse*, though he had none of the talents necessary to qualify him for a great monarch. He meant well in all cases; but was easily and always governed by those that were about him: he had no passions or resentments of his own, but still adopted those of his ministers; he loved justice, and hated oppression: but *Godwin* and his sons being his chief justiciaries, and the administration vested in their creatures, shameful injustices were daily committed, and the common people suffered great hardships, under the colour of his authority. *Godwin* was duke, or earl (titles used promiscuously by old writers, when the military and civil power of a country were vested in the same person) of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and all the maritime provinces of the *West-Saxons* from thence to the *Land's End*². *Swein*, his eldest son, was so of the counties of *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, *Oxford*, *Berks*, and *Somerſet*; and *Harold* having the like title and authority in *Essex*, and over all the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, they had thus the better half of *England* under their command. These titles and governments indeed had not been hereditary since *Canute's* time: but as *Godwin's* family was actually possessed of them, and strengthened likewise by great alliances all over the nation, it was too great a power for *Edward* to take upon him to controul.

He was very fortunate in not being attacked by any foreign enemy; especially by the *Danes*: who had reason to be irritated at the expulsion of their countrymen; and were an enemy always to be dreaded, because of the numerous alliances which they had within the kingdom. *Ailred*³ ascribes this to the merit of *Edward's* piety, and to a particular interposition of Providence in his behalf; the *Danish* king, who had fitted out a mighty fleet, and embarked his forces in order to invade *England*, being drowned by a false step he made as he was going aboard: which put a stop to the intended expedition. But the true reason seems to have been, the troubles which broke out at that time in *Scandinavia*; for though upon *Harold Canute's* death, *Swein*, son of *Canute*, succeeded to the throne of *Denmark*; he was turned out of *Norway* by *Magnus*, son of St *Olave*, the true heir of the crown, to whom the *Norwegians* revolted. It was imagined in *England*, that this last prince designed an invasion⁴; and *Edward*, about two years after his coronation, fitted out a fleet, which lay a good while at *Sandwich*, to prevent his landing: but *Magnus* was hindered by his wars with *Swein*; whom, after some successful battles in the course of several campaigns, he drove at last entirely out of *Denmark*;

EDWARD
the Confessor.

His character
and peaceful
reign.

¹ *Malmesb. ib.* ² *Hoveden*, p. 441. *Sim. Dun. an.* 1051. *Flor. Wig.* ³ *Vit. S. Edw. confessor.*
⁴ *Sim. Dun. Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1045, 6, 7.

and

EDWARD
the Confessor.

and yet that country was not, during all his, or his successor's reigns, free from disturbances. Thus *England* came to enjoy a continued peace for above twenty years; uninterrupted, except by such hostilities as are usually committed on the borders of kingdoms for the sake of depredations, and by some commotions, which the pride and power of *Godwin* and his sons occasioned.

He resumes
the grants of
his prede-
cessors.

XXXV. ONE of *Edward's* first acts of authority after his coronation, was no great mark of his filial piety: but he had no will of his own, and was easily led by *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, to make a sudden journey from *Gloucester* to *Winchester*, to seize all his mother's treasure and jewels². *Emma*³, though she gave some of those manors, which *Ethelred* had assigned for her dower, and *Canute* had given her in perpetuity, to the church of *Winchester*, had yet the character being covetous: and had probably, by the indulgence of her two husbands, the bounty of her son *Hardicnute*, scraped large sums of money together; which might be of service for the defence of the realm in the exhausted condition, to which the exchequer was reduced by the extravagance of the last of those princes, and the excessive expence of his household. The step was probably taken by the general consent of the nobility, since those three great earls joined in it; though some are willing to throw it upon *Godwin* alone: who being duke of the *West-Saxons*, and the king residing ordinarily either at *Windsor* or *Winchester*, within his government, must have the chief direction in the disposal of the money. However extraordinary this step may appear in a son, it seems to have been in a manner necessary, considering the exhausted condition of the exchequer; and to have been taken for the same reasons which induced *Edward* to revoke the exorbitant grants of honours, manors, and lands, which his three predecessors, *Canute*, *Harold*, and *Hardicnute*, had made to *Danes* and other foreigners, to the prejudice and dismemberment of the crown; to which it was now necessary to re-unite them, as far as was practicable⁴, by an act of resumption. *Edward* himself was so far from being disposed to the least rapaciousness, that⁵ he hated all excisemen and officers employed in the levying of taxes: and took off the heavy imposition of *Danegeld*, after it hath continued thirty-eight years from the time that, to satisfy *Swein's* demand of forty-eight thousand pounds, it hath been settled at the rate by *Ethelred*. This gained him the hearts of his subjects: and the care that he took to collect the old *Saxon* laws into a body, and order the strict execution thereof, which had been neglected for sixty-eight years, ever since *Edgar's* time, riveted him so in their affections, that they generally looked upon his reign, as the happiest time of the *English* monarchy.

The rebellion
of *Godwin*
and his sons.

XXXVI. ONE part of his conduct gave distaste to the great men, who inspired it on some occasions into others. When he was settled upon the throne, he invited over several of the *Normans*, among whom he had been educated, and from whom he had received several kindnesses in the time of his distress: and shewed them so much countenance, that the *Norman* customs grew fashionable. The

¹ *Ib.* A. D. 1043.

² I do not relate the story told by *Brompton*, *Knighton*, and *Rudborne*, about *Emma's* undergoing the fire-ordeal to purge herself and *Ailwin* of the charge of incontinency; because it appears plainly to be a mere legend, it being mentioned by none of our older historians, who yet are too fond of such marvellous stories; and the circumstances of their relation being manifestly false and inconsistent with the history of the times. To mention one,

on which the whole story hangs, *Robert*, to whom the accusation is imputed, and to blacken whom the story seems to have been forged, was not archbishop of *Canterbury* till A. D. 1050. *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. &c.*

³ *Malmesb. ib. Sim. Dun. Hoveden*, p. 439.

⁴ *LL. Edw. confess.* c. 16.

⁵ *Ailred in Vita S. Edwardi. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. Chron. Mailros. an. 1051. Hunt. &c.*

nobility looked upon it as a point of good-breeding and quality to speak *French*¹; EDWARD the Confessor. and the men of business began to put their lawdeeds and instruments into the *Norman* form; as if they were ashamed of the usages of their own country. This was a voluntary obsequiousness or affectation in some of the *English*; but though it was disagreeable to others, it did not raise a clamour like his entrusting the guard of some castles and the disposal of many considerable preferments in church and state to the *Normans*; for the natives considering these posts as their sole right, began to be jealous, as if the king's favours were bestowed more liberally upon foreigners than themselves. Among the *Normans* thus preferred were *William* and *Wlf*, who having been the king's chaplains, were promoted to the sees of *London* and *Dorchester*; and *Robert* a monk of *Jumièges*, who had been first made bishop of *London*, and from thence translated to *Canterbury*. This last was a man of great learning², excellent parts, and a sound judgment; very capable of advising the king, and very zealous of his honour and service. *Edward* had such an opinion of his capacity, fidelity, and integrity, that he generally followed his counsels; which gave great offence to *Godwin*: who could not bear a rival in the direction of the king's measures, and complained loudly of *Robert* for misrepresenting him to his master, and inspiring the latter with suspicions of his and his sons designs. The king had certainly but too much reason to be jealous on that head, and to guard against the exorbitant power of *Godwin's* family: who in their turn wanted to deprive him of so wise and faithful a counselor, whose personal merit, sacred character, and eminent dignity added weight to all his advices; and to leave nobody about his royal person, in whom he could put a confidence. This had been long their view: and they carried their point on the following occasion.

EUSTACE the *Elder*, count of *Bologne*, is said by our historians³, to have married *Goda* sister to *Edward*, and coming over in *September A. D. 1051*, to make him a visit, passed from *Vitford* to *Dover*: and either at his landing or return, one of his train attempting to take possession of a lodging, contrary to the owner's will, was killed in the dispute. The count and his men immediately mounted on horseback; and the townsmen running to assist their neighbour, several were slain on both sides: and *Eustace* being forced to fly for his life, with the few that were left of his retinue, went full of wrath to make his complaint to the king, who was then keeping his court at *Gloucester*. As this had happened in *Godwin's* government, the king ordered him to march thither with a body of men and punish the guilty: but he, who would not have born the least interfering in a point of judicature within his own district upon any other occasion, refused to go or meddle in the affair; being either prepossessed by a favourable representation of the case made to him by the townsmen of *Dover*, or else thinking it a good opportunity to render all foreigners odious, and drive the *Norman* favourites out of the kingdom. With this view he and his sons raised a vast army in their several governments, with as much privacy as possible, and under pretence of attacking a castle, which the *Welfs* had erected on the frontiers: but the king was too near the place, not to know the truth of the case, and that the preparations were too great for so inconsiderable an enterprize. Thence imagining that some violence was intended to himself, he dispatched messengers in all haste to *Leofric* and *Siward* earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, to acquaint them with his danger, and desire them to repair to him immediately with what forces they could get together. They came at first with a few: but understanding how matters went, sent away couriers to

¹ *Inglulf.*
an. 1051.

² *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 13.

³ *Malmesb.* l. ii. c. 13. *Cbr. Sax. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.*

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their counties for more, and soon assembled a great army. *Godwin* and his sons had in the mean time advanced with their forces into *Gloucestershire*: and sent deputies to the king to denounce war against him, unless he would deliver up *Eustace* and his companions, and likewise all the *Boulonnois* and *Normans*, that were in *Dover* castle. The king unable to oppose them in the field, had no party to take but to gain time; and continued in great anxiety, till the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* forces came up: but then he gave the deputies a resolute answer, that he would not deliver up *Eustace*, nor the others they demanded. These forces entered *Gloucester* as the deputies departed, and were so incensed at the insolence of *Godwin*, that they were very eager to fight his army immediately, if the king would have given his consent: but *Leofric* and other noblemen thinking it unnatural to sheath their swords in one another's bowels, laboured to prevent matters being carried to that extremity. This gained time for an accommodation; by which *Godwin* was obliged to appear at a day appointed before the king and council at *London*, to have the affair judicially determined.

GODWIN hereupon retired with his sons to their governments: and the king having levied in *Mercia* and the *North* a stronger army than he had before, marched to *London*; where all the nobility of *England* was to meet in council. *Godwin* and his sons came at the same time to *Southwark*, with a numerous body of *West-Saxons*: but their men deserting continually, they durst not stay the hearing of their cause; and upon their flight, *Godwin* and his five sons were banished the realm by the unanimous sentence of the council and nobility. *Godwin* himself, *Swein*, and *Tofti*, who had married *Judith* daughter of count *Baldwin*, and *Girth*, fled to *Flanders*; whilst *Harold* and *Leofwin* getting on board a ship at *Bristol* took refuge in *Ireland*. There they remained till about *Midsummer* in the year following; when *Godwin* parting from *Bruges* with a squadron of ships, and escaping the king's fleet, which waited to interrupt his passage, joined *Harold* with his *Irish* squadron near *Portland*. Sailing from thence along the coast to the mouth of the *Thames*, they were re-inforced all the way with soldiers from the land, and by ships from the cinque ports; till they advanced to *London*, where the king had a good fleet and army ready to give them a proper reception. But as the troops on both sides were all in a manner *English*, and did not care to destroy one another, the most prudent and moderate of the nobility set on foot a treaty: in which it was agreed that *Godwin* and his sons, delivering hostages to be kept in *Normandie*, for their good behaviour to the king¹, should be restored to their honours, which had been given away during their exile; and that all foreigners should be expelled the kingdom. The king refused for a good while to ratify it: but the *Londoners* joining in the popular clamour against the *Normans*, he was at last persuaded, chiefly by *Stigand* bishop of *Winchester*, to give his consent. The last article however was not executed in all its rigour; the storm falling only upon those who were most obnoxious to *Godwin*; such as count *Odo*, who had been put into a considerable part of the *West-Saxon* government, and the three bishops, *William*, *Wlf*, and *Robert*, who flying abroad upon the conclusion of the treaty, were declared outlaws by the *Great council*. Of these *William* was suffered in a little time to return to his see of *London*: *Wlf*², if not the same person with *Wlffin*, who is thought to succeed him at *Dorchester*, died abroad, as *Robert* did in the abbey of *Jumièges*, upon his return from *Rome*, where he had been to complain of his usage. *Stigand* en-

¹ *Knighton*, col. 2332.

² Dr. *Kennet* in *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 54, says *Wlf* was recalled; according to *Simon* of *Durham*, and to *Florence* of *Worcester*. *Wlf* lived possessed

of his see till after the conquest, when he died in A. D. 1067, at *Winton*, and was buried at *Dorchester*.

joyed his spoils¹, being put into the see of *Canterbury*, probably as administrator only till the death of his predecessor, which I take to be the true reason why he had not the *pall* granted him till *A. D.* 1058, when *Benedict X* was elected to the papacy. *Godwin* and his sons were restored to their governments; only *Swein*, the bloodiest and most profligate libertine of the age, to atone for the treacherous murder of his cousin *Beorn*², went, by way of penance, barefoot to the *Holy Land*, and was killed in his return³ by the *Sarazens*.

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XXXVII. EMMA died in the midst of these troubles at *Winchester*: and *Godwin* did not long enjoy the absolute power he had got in the administration of the kingdom, by the late treaty and the removal of all persons from court in whom *Edward* had any confidence, dying⁴ the year following of an apoplectic fit; which seized him as he was sitting by the king at table in his palace of *Odiham*⁵. *Ingulf*, *Ailred of Rievall*, the *Chronicle of Peterborough* published by *Sparkes*, *Alured of Beverley*, and other writers who follow those ancient authorities, say that he was on *Easter Monday* at dinner struck speechless, as he was attempting to swallow a morsel of meat, which he wished might be his death, if he had been any way concerned in the murder of prince *Alfred*; and that his sons taking him up from the ground upon which he had fallen, carried him to a room in the palace; where he expired the *Thursday* following, *April 15, A. D.* 1053. The death of this earl⁶, who treated the king always with great neglect, and on certain occasions with insolence and contempt, was for a time of some advantage to the crown, by lessening the overgrown power of his family; for though *Harold* (who was likewise⁷ steward of the household) succeeded in his government of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and the *West-Saxons*, he was obliged to quit that of the *East-Saxons* and *Angles*; which was given to *Algar* the son of *Leofric*. *Harold* lay as yet under no imputation of any odious crime, treachery, rapine, or cruelty, as his father had done; nor had he any of the other's roughness of nature and imperious manner of acting: he was humane, polite, insinuating; and carried himself with so much decorum and respect to *Edward*, that he soon got into his good graces, and recovered all the power, which at *Godwin's* death was lost to the family.

Deaths of
Godwin,

XXXVIII. THIS was much advanced by the deaths of *Siward* and *Leofric*, whose power had served for a balance to *Godwin's*. *Edward*, out of a principle of justice, espousing the cause of an injured prince, had ordered the first of these to march with an army into *Scotland*, to restore *Malcolm Canmore* the true heir of the crown, and depose the usurper *Mackbeth*. *Siward* returned full of glory from his expedition; having routed and slain the tyrant in a bloody battle: but had the misfortune to lose his eldest son *Osbern*, who was killed in the action⁷. The heroick father bore this loss with great magnanimity, when he found that the mortal wound given his son was received in the breast; but died himself in the year following at⁸ *Yorke*; having just before he expired put on all his armour, as if it was unfit for a soldier to die in any other manner. *Waltheof*, his surviving son, being too young to rule the *Northumbrian* territories, the government of that large province was put into the hands of *Tofti*. This was a great accession to *Harold's* power: but whether he was resolved to increase it at any rate, or repented his former government of the *East-Angles* being possessed by *Algar*, as well during his late exile, as since *Godwin's* death, he seems to have encouraged

Siward, and
Leofric.

¹ *Gervas Aët. Pontif. Cant.* p. 1651.

² *Malmesb. ib.* ³ *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1053.

Howeden. ⁴ *MS. Wace*, p. 449.

⁵ *Malmesb. l. ii. c.* 13.

⁶ *Major aulae regiaë*, or, as termed in France, *Maire du Palais*. *Ingulf*, p. 68.

⁷ *Chron. Mailros. Sim. Dunelm. Flor. Wig.* *At D.* 1054. ⁸ *ib.* 1055.

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some false accusations against this¹ nobleman; who, oppressed by a faction in the great council, was sentenced to banishment. *Algar* bringing a body of forces from *Ireland*, the place of his retreat, landed in *Wales*; where he was joined by *Griffith*, prince of the country, who is said to have married his daughter *Edgiva*: and entering *England*, forced *Harold* to a treaty; which affording him means to get to the king, and to clear his innocence, he was restored to the possession of his government, and enjoyed it till the death of his father *Leofric*. This wife and good nobleman, celebrated for his probity, justice, and benefactions to religious houses; irreproachable in all his conduct; ever faithful to the king; and universally beloved, as well as esteemed, by the people, died on *August 3, A. D. 1057*: and was succeeded by his son in the government of *Mercia*. *Algar* was not suffered to enjoy it long in quiet; being the next year banished a second time by his enemies: he recovered it indeed again by the assistance of *Griffith*, and of a fleet of *Norwegians*; but died the year following, leaving two sons, *Edward*, who was earl of *Mercia* after him, and *Morcar*, with as many daughters; the elder named *Edgiva*, or *Algitba* above-mentioned, and the younger *Lucia*, who was married after the conquest to *Ivo Taillebois*, and was living, when *Ingulf* wrote his history of *Croyland*.

Settlement of
the crown on
William duke
of *Normandie*.

XXXIX. EDWARD, finding himself grown infirm with age³, and the great men, upon whose fidelity and counsels he could best depend, wearing off continually, thought it high time to provide an active friend for himself, and a lawful successor for his kingdom. With these views he had, a little before *Leofric's* death⁴, sent to *Hungary* for his nephew *Edward*, son of *Edmund Ironside*; ⁵ who was then about forty years old, and came over accordingly; but died a few days after his arrival in *London*. *Edgar Atheling*, the only son of the deceased prince, and the last male of the *Saxon* royal line, was young, unexperienced, unactive, weak, and in all respects unable to bear the weight of a crown, as well as unfit to struggle for it, with so powerful a competitor, as *Harold*; so that the declaring him his heir would, in all probability, scarce have any other effect, than exposing him as a victim to the jealousy of the usurper. *Edward* detested the memory of *Godwin*, and could not bear the thoughts of the throne of *England* being filled with the descendants of a man, who, by the murder of his elder brother, had contributed so much to the extinction of the royal family. There appeared however no way of preventing it, but by appointing a successor who was able to assert his claim⁶: and this circumstance he found, in the person of a near relation by the mother's side, *William* duke of *Normandie*. He had a great affection for that country, in which he had received his education by the care and bounty of the duke's ancestors: he had particular obligations to his father *Robert*; who had been at the expence of an armament to wrest *England* from the hands of *Canute*, and to restore it to the line of *Ethelred*. *William*⁷ was a prince of the greatest reputation in the age, as well for his military talents, as for the vigour and wisdom of his government: and he had surmounted greater difficulties in keeping possession of his duchy, than he would probably meet with in a contest for the crown of *England*. He had been over in this country, upon *Godwin's* expulsion, *A. D. 1051*, either to assist, or to make a visit to the king; who had entertained such an opinion of his friendship, that he entrusted him with the keeping of the hostages⁸, which *Godwin*, upon the accommodation made in his favour, gave for the assurance of his fidelity. The *Norman* writers say, that these hostages were designed likewise to secure the

¹ *Ingulf. Chron. Petriburg. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. A. D. 1055.*

² *Ib. an 1057.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Malmesb. l. ii. c. 13.*

⁵ *Ib. 1065. p. 68.*

⁶ *Ingulf. A. D.*

⁷ *Alfred. Beverl. l. ix. MS.*

⁸ *Ib. Alfred. Rieval. Degenealog. R. Angl. Wace, p. 448.*

succession of the crown ¹ to *William*; to whom archbishop *Robert* was directed to ^{EDWARD} notify the *Confessor's* intentions: nor is it unlikely but *Edward*, who was dragged ^{the Confessor.} by force into that accommodation, might in his resentment against *Godwin*, and those who compelled him to submit to it, take up at that time the resolution which he executed afterwards. He was now far advanced in years, and his health was daily declining: in such circumstances there was no time to be lost in settling the succession; and he took care to appoint *William* duke of *Normandie* for his successor.

THIS designation was probably made in the king's council, if not in the great council ² of the nation; or else *Harold*, who was pitched upon for the ambassador to notify it to the duke, would naturally have declined going on a message so contrariant to his views and wishes ³. He set sail with two ⁴ ships from *Bosham* in *Sussex*: and being, by stormy weather, driven ashore near *Esclaples*, was discovered to *Guy*, count of *Ponthieu*, seized and carried prisoner to *Beaurein le Chateau*, upon the *Canche*, and from thence to *Abbeville*. He was there detained for some time: but finding means to send *William* advice of the condition he was in, and the errand he came upon, he was, upon the duke's instances ⁵, threats, and promises, conducted by *Guy* to *Ville D'Eu* the first frontier town in *Normandie*. *William* received him there in an honourable manner; treated him with all kinds of caresses; carried him along, in an expedition to *Bretagne*; and did all that was possible to make him his friend; knowing well that he was the only person in *England* capable of defeating the effect of his designation. But as bare promises and professions are of little weight, where a crown is in prospect, and offers itself as a reward for breaking them, the duke thought it proper to tie *Harold* down to the performance of his, by what was deemed in those days most sacred, and not to be violated without some terrible and immediate judgment from heaven. *Legends* of saints, full of senseless stories of their miracles, had for some ages swarmed in the world; and whether coined designedly to impose on mankind, or drawn up as the exercises of pupils to try their invention, had been so much encouraged by the monks, as to be read in refectories at their meals, in their chapels on the festivals of saints, and in churches at divine service. The people, who are always struck with what appears marvellous in their eyes, heard them with wonder: and swallowing them without examination, the relicks of the saints thus celebrated were got into the highest request, so as to supplant almost every thing else in its due veneration, and make even oaths themselves lose a great deal of their obligation, unless taken over some relicks. It was in this manner that the duke of *Normandie* proposed to get, if possible, *Harold* to swear to the performance of the stipulations settled between them; by which, upon the former's assurance of his friendship, and the great favours he would heap upon him, the latter bound himself to marry his daughter, and to do his utmost to put him in quiet possession of the crown of *England*.

THERE was some difficulty in the thing: and it was to be done by art, rather than compulsion. There is no forcing a man, of whom one proposeth to make a

¹ *Wace*, *ib.* ² *Optimum Concilio. Guil. Piët.* p. 181.

³ See a dissertation on the representation of this history in an old set of tapestry hangings belonging to the church of *Bayeux* in *Normandie*, by the late M. *Lancelot*, printed among the *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres & Inscriptions*, and an abridgment thereof printed at the latter end of the first, and in the beginning of the second, tome of the *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*. The tapestry is as old as the time of this event, and

was given to that cathedral by *Matilda*, wife to *William the Conqueror*; it is two hundred and twelve feet long, and near two feet wide, and being used and exposed only on certain days in the year, hath been preserved to this time, though in some places damaged.

⁴ *Wace*, p. 456. ⁵ *Alured of Beverley* says, the duke paid *Harold's* ransom to the C. of *Ponthieu*; and *Wace*, p. 458, says, he gave *Guy* a rich manor for it.

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friend, to do any thing against his will: there was no treating *Harold*, an ambassador, to whom he had given audience before the great council of *Normandie*, in that manner, without violating the law of nations, and disobliging all the nobility of *England*, whose good-will it behoved *William* to cultivate. He chose therefore to hide the shrine or relicks of some saints under an ordinary table, so as not to be seen¹: and as oaths were an usual way of confirming pacts, and taken of course by the parties without scruple, as soon as *Harold* had, in the presence of the estates of *Normandie*, assembled at *Bayeux*, sworn upon the gospels that lay upon the table, that he would keep the stipulations between them, *William* shewed him under it the relicks of saints, as venerable at *Rouen*, as St. *Cuthbert* was then at *Durham*, and equally terrible to those who violated the respect due to their holiness. *Harold* could not help being startled at the sight: but it was too late to draw back; he parted from *William* with the fairest professions, but forgot them, as well as his oaths, when he arrived in *England*; where he took his measures very properly to make himself master of the kingdom.

Welsh forced
to submit.

XL. HE had raised his reputation to the highest degree by the victories, which he had lately gained over the *Welsh*, as much by his military skill and judgment, as by his valour. He had formerly, on various occasions, beaten their forces, and wasted their country: but this kept them quiet only a moment; they still continued from time to time to make incursions into the borders of *England*; and when they had got a sufficient booty, retired to their mountains, which had as yet passed for inaccessible. *Harold* however resolving to drive them from those retreats, to which men, in heavy armour, could not mount without being, by the fatigue, rendered unfit for an engagement², ordered his soldiers to take only leather targets for their defence, and javelins with other light offensive weapons; and thus pursue the enemy into their mountains. This method succeeded so well, that his foot, either ferreting them out of their fastnesses, or destroying them there, whilst a body of horse over-ran the lower country, and a fleet harassed the maritime parts, he destroyed their corn, cattle, and provisions, with such numbers of people in all places where he passed; that the *Welsh*, fearing their nation would be exterminated³, had no way to prevent it, but by cutting off the head of their brave prince *Griffith*, which they sent to *Harold*, as an assurance of their absolute submission; and by receiving for their princes *Bletbyn* and *Rhywallon*, appointed by *Edward*.

Tosti expelled
the realm.

XLI. *Tosti* had done good service in this expedition; and in case of a dispute for the crown, *Harold* might reasonably have expected the like from him, whilst he continued to govern the *Northumbrian* provinces: but such was his conduct, that in the year following he lost all his power and influence in that country⁴. *Tosti* had all the vices and ill qualities of his father, without his dissimulation to conceal his sentiments, or any art to cover his designs; his passions being too violent to allow of either. He was perverse, headstrong, and obstinate; ambitious, proud, insolent, brutal, and cruel, boundless in his avarice and rapaciousness; without virtue, faith, honour, religion, shame, or any other restraining quality to keep him from running into the most enormous excesses, to gratify his passions or resentments; which fell upon all the world without distinction. He was so violent in

¹ *Wace*, p. 459, 460, says, that the duke of *Normandie* put these relicks in a *cave*, or tub covered with straw, over which was placed a table board, spread with a rich carpet, like the phylacteries put upon shrines; and that when *Harold* had sworn, *William* caused the *cave* to be taken from

under the covering, and the straw to be removed, and shewing him upon what relicks he had sworn, *Harold* was exceedingly terrified.

² *Ingulf*. p. 68. ³ *Chron. Petriburg. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1064.

⁴ *Ib. A. D.* 1065.

his resentment, that he seized his brother *Harold* by the hair; falling upon him in a furious manner, as he was helping the king to a glass of wine one day at dinner, according to the duty of his post in the household. He was one of the justiciaries of the kingdom: and if he took a fancy to a nobleman's house by which he passed, he made no scruple of seizing it, and of putting the owner, with all his family, to death, to secure his possession. He had thus murdered a prodigious number of persons, several of them men of quality, and some even in the king's palace, having drawn in his sister, queen *Egitha*, to be accessory to their assassination. Many gentlemen, in the most considerable employments among the *Northumbrians*, had fallen victims to his rage²; he loaded that people with excessive taxes and exactions: nor was there any kind of oppression, which they did not suffer under his government. Unable to support it any longer, they took up arms;³ killed several of his officers, the ministers of his tyranny; seized his ill gotten treasures; and, with the help of *Edwin*, drove him out of the country. They then elected *Morcar* for their earl: and all joining them as far as the *Trent*, they advanced to *Northampton*; where *Harold* met them with an army, being sent by the king to vindicate the royal authority, and do justice to *Tosti*. But the *Northumbrians* represented to him⁴, that "they were a free people, both by their birth and education, and could not bear the tyranny and inhumanity of their governors; that they had learned from their ancestors, either to maintain their liberties, or die in their defence; but should be very quiet and obedient under a mild and just governor." *Harold* finding they had reason on their side, and thinking it more advisable to provide for the good of the country, than consult his brother's private advantage, drew off his forces: and going with their deputies⁵ to the king, got *Morcar* confirmed in the government; *Tosti* retiring in great discontent to *Flanders*.

EDWARD
the Confessor.

XLII. THE removal of a brother from so important a government, may naturally be imagined to have given a great blow to *Harold's* views and pretensions to the crown: but he knew how to turn it to his advantage, and, instead of a brother, detested by all the world, and upon whom he could not depend, as being more likely to prove a rival than a friend, to fill the post with another, entirely beloved by the people, more capable and better inclined to do him service. He married *Algitba*, the elder sister of *Edwin* and *Morcar*, two young noblemen of the first quality, and the most powerful of any in the kingdom; the one being earl of *Mercia*, the other of *Northumberland*: and by this alliance he secured all the north and middle of *England* in his interest. He was himself duke of the *West-Saxons*: and this government having been in his family fifty years, there was no doubt of his being supported by that people, who had stood by his father, even against the crown, in the insurrection raised to expel the foreigners. In these circumstances it was easy for every body, as well as *Edward*⁶, to foresee, that *Harold* would be his successor: the expressing of which apprehension, seems to be the chief foundation for the report of his naming him so; a report which *Malmesbury* rejects, it being utterly improbable, that the king should leave his crown to a man, of whose power he had all his life been jealous. *Edward* would certainly have left it to *Edgar Atheling*⁷, whom he loved entirely; but that he was a boy⁸, unable to support his right against *Harold*, who was already in effect master of the kingdom; and there was not left within it any nobleman of power and weight enough to take *Edgar* under his protection, besides *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who were too much linked in with *Harold* to be depended on for opposing his measures.

*Harold aspires
to the crown.*

¹ Brompton, p. 748.

² *Alured Bev.* l. viii.

⁶ *Knighton, ib.*

⁷ *Ib.*

⁸ He was living

³ *Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1065.

⁴ *Knighton, col.*

seventy years after, when *Malmesbury* wrote his

⁵ *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. an.* 1065.

History, l. ii. c. 13.

EDWARD
the Confessor.

The only likely method, which offered for defeating them, had been taken by the designation of *William*, duke of *Normandie*; in which it may reasonably be presumed the council of state, if not the great council of the realm, concurred; since the king, in the whole course of his reign, never took any material step without their advice. Nor is it otherwise easy to account either for *William's* conduct (immediately after his accession, when it behoves a prince not to do harsh and odious things without a plausible pretence) in seizing the estates of such as fought against him at *Hastings*, or for the manner in which, as soon as the king was dead, *Harold* had assumed the crown. The states of the realm had constantly met at the accessions of *Edward*, *Hardicnute*, *Harold Harefoot*, *Canute*, *Ethelred*, and others of their predecessors; it behoved *Harold*, no way related to the royal family, and destitute of any foreign force to support him, more than any of those princes, to assemble them in order to have a colour for his usurpation. He had no rivals, but a foreigner, of a country to which the nation in general had lately shewn their aversion, and a boy of no promising hopes, and disagreeable to many of the nobility; so that without such a circumstance, there appeared very little reason to doubt of their general and ready consent to his pretensions. It is not politic to break through ancient usages without an absolute necessity; to multiply without any occasion objections to a bad title; to treat the states of a realm with contempt; to neglect the nobility; and probably disoblige his friends; who however well-affected to his interests, might have been glad of an opportunity to make their court to him, to distinguish themselves by their zeal for his service, and to have the merit of contributing by their suffrages to his elevation. It took up, in that age, very few days to assemble the states, yet *Harold* would not wait for their being convened: but the citizens of *London* and some others declaring in his favour¹, assumed the royalty without the consent of the prelates and nobility, that at the time of *Edward's* death, attended upon the king as usual at the great festivals, and were present at the dedication of the church of *Westminster Abbey*. This is implied in *Malmesbury's* words, *extorta a principibus fide*: and I take it to be the meaning of what our historians say, *that he set the crown on his own head*; since *Ingulf*², a cotemporary writer, and others, say, that *Aldred*, archbishop of *York*, performed the ceremony of his coronation; perhaps on the refusal of *Stigand*, the canonicalness of whose primatical dignity was not as yet called in question.

On *Edward's*
death *Harold*
succeeds.

XLIII. EDWARD died on *Thursday, January 5*, the eve of the *Epiphany*, *A. D. 1066*: and was buried the next morning³, that his successor might be crowned the same⁴ day; it not being customary to perform the rites of coronation and unction to a new prince, either before his predecessor was interred, or on any day but a *Sunday*, or some great festival. Thus ended the royal line of the *West-Saxons*, after having continued upon the throne between five and six hundred years from the time of *Cerdic*, with various fortune, but in the height of glory during the reigns of *Alfred*, *Edward*, *Athelstan*, and *Edmund*: from the time of which last prince, the monarchy began to decline by the mistaken conduct of his successors; who may be said to have dismembered it, by granting away such large territories and principalities to their vassals distinguished by the title of dukes, as rendered them, in a manner, independent of the regal authority, and at last enabled one of

¹ *Relatio De Willielm. Com. Norman.* p. 189.

² P. 68. *Hist. Ramsi*, c. 120. *Chr. Sax. an.* 1066. *Stubb. Acta Pont. Ebor.* col. 1702. *Brompton*, p. 958.

³ *Ingulf. Sim. Dun. Chron. Petrib. Hist. Eliensis*, l. ii. c. 43.

⁴ The author of the *Relatio De Willielmo Comite*

Norman. (at the end of *Taylor's History of Gavelkind*) who wrote in the time of *Henry I.*, and had his relation from eye-witnesses, says, *Harold* was crowned at *St. Paul's*, before his predecessor was buried at *Westminster*. These actions, in different places, were perhaps done both in the same morning.

them

them to usurp the crown upon the death of *Edward*, surnamed, for his holiness, *Edward the Confessor*.

EDWARD the Confessor.

XLII. IT was to the hereditary right of the royal line, that people in *Malmebury's* days¹, ascribed the supernatural virtue of our kings in curing the scirrhus tumour, called the king's evil; though this author is willing to impute it to the singular piety of *Edward*. There is no proof of any of our kings touching for that distemper, more ancient than this king; of whom *Ailred*², as well as *Malmebury*, observe, that he cured a young married woman, reduced by it to a deplorable condition, by the stroking the place affected with his hand; upon which she grew sensibly better, the humour dispersed, the scar wore off, and in a week's time the cure was perfected. There are no accounts of the four first kings of *Norman*, or foreign race, ever attempting to cure that complaint: but that *Henry II* both touched those afflicted with it, and cured them, is attested by *Petrus Blefensis*³, who had been his chaplain. *Bradwardine*, archbishop of *Canterbury* under *Richard II*, the lord chancellor *Fortescue*, and other grave authors, give the like testimony in behalf of the cure, as well as practice, by that prince's successors: besides a great number of evidences that may be drawn from records; many of which are printed by *Tucker*⁴, having been communicated to him by the late *Garter*, the learned Mr. *Anstis*. There is a particular religious office used at the time of touching, not disagreeable to the simplicity of the *Saxon* times; in the ceremony whereof, the king, at the reading of the first gospel, gently draws both his hands over the fore, much after the manner used by *Edward*. All our *English* kings have continued to use the same rite to this day: and the *French*, from the time of *St. Louis*, if not of *Philip Auguste*, have imitated them in it with the like salutary effect. Some of the *French* writers ascribe this gift of healing to their kings devotion towards the relicks of *St. Marculf*, in the church of *Corbigny* in *Champagne*; to which the kings of *France*, immediately after their coronation at *Reims*, used to go in solemn procession: and it must be owned, there was formerly a veneration paid to this saint in *England*. It was in memory of him, that a room in the palace of *Westminster*, frequently mentioned in the rolls of parliament⁵, at the time of its assembling, was called the chamber of *St. Marculf*; being probably the place where our kings used to touch for the evil. It is now called the painted chamber: and though the name of that saint hath been long forgot in this nation, yet the sanative virtue of our kings still continues. Nor is it confined to them alone: for though *Fortescue* (at the time of whose writing there had been no sovereign hereditary queen crowned in this realm) imagined it was not communicated to queens, because they were not anointed in the hands, the contrary hath been since proved by abundant experience. *Tucker*⁶ relates one remarkable instance in the cure of a Roman Catholic; who being put into prison, perhaps, for recusancy; and terribly afflicted with the king's evil, was, after he had been there for a tedious time, at a vast expence to physicians without the least relief, touched by queen *Elizabeth*, and perfectly cured. This gave him occasion to say, he was now convinced by undoubted experience, that the Pope's excommunication of that queen signified nothing; since she still continued blessed with so miraculous a quality⁷.

Of the cure of the king's evil.

¹ I. ii. c. 13. p. 91. ² *Vit. S. Edwardi*, p. 390. ³ *Epist.* 150. p. 235. ⁴ *In Charifmate*. See Dr. *Friender's Appendix to the History of Physic*, n. 6. ⁵ *Rot. Parl.* 17 E. 3. n. 8. 25 E. n. 8. 38 E. 3. n. 5. 47 E. 3. n. 4. ⁶ *In Charifmate*, c. 6. p. 92. ⁷ *In Charifmate*, c. 6. p. 92.

⁷ That the cure can't be imputed to the strength of imagination, is evident from the numbers of children that have been so cured. Dr. *Heylin*, an eye-witness of such cures, says, "I have seen some children brought before the king (*Charles I*) by the hanging sleeves, some hanging at their mothers breasts, and others in the arms of their

HAROLD II.
Manner of
his govern-
ment.

XLIII. HAROLD having ' usurped the crown, and, by the assistance of the *Londoners*, all-powerful in their own city, forced the nobility, attending the court at the festival of *Christmas*, to swear allegiance to him, applied himself to gain the affections of the people, by a conduct very different from what he had formerly used, and which could not reasonably be expected from one that had broke through the laws of God, and the constitution of the kingdom, to invade a throne belonging to another, who was the undoubted lineal heir of the royal family. Ambition and avarice were his predominant passions: and to gratify them whilst he was a subject, and had a crown in view, he had stuck at no rapine, violence, and injustice², that would contribute to increase his wealth; to the influence whereof in a corrupt age, as much as to the terror of his power and standing forces, *Malmesbury* and other historians ascribe the facility of his usurpation. He had not scrupled to seize even the lands of the church that lay within his government: nor could the late king's piety prevent the stripping *Giso*, bishop of *Welles*, of the greatest part of the possessions of his see, and seizing the manors of other prelates, as well as of religious houses. But *Harold* having now attained to the height of his wishes, thought it no ill policy, at least for a time, and till he was better settled on the throne, to restore some of his ill gotten estates: for notwithstanding the³ encomiums passed upon his government, by the generality of our historians, who celebrate his care to punish malefactors, to have justice duly administered, to relieve the oppressed, and to redress all disorders and illegal executions, it is certain he did not restore all; the lands of the see of *Welles*, as appears from *Domesday book*, not being recovered by *Giso* till after the conquest; and all the schools of learning founded by *Alfred* at *Oxford*, were stripped by him of their revenue, except that of divinity⁴. We see also in *Dugdale's*⁵ *Monasticon*, a large list of manors formerly belonging to the church of *Hereford*, which were unjustly taken away by this usurper, and restored afterwards by *William the Conqueror*.

*KNIGHTON*⁶, supported by *Wace*, and the *Norman* historians, gives a different account of his administration; representing it as so oppressive and tyrannical, that it rendered him infinitely odious to the nation. The first of those authors gives him the character of a proud, haughty, avaricious mortal, intent upon scraping money together at any rate to swell his treasures; which (whether he acted agreeably to it after his accession or not) was certainly his true character: and chargeth him with dishonouring several noble families by his lust; with committing rapes on the daughters of his nobility; and harassing with prosecutions abundance of the gentry, who lived near the royal forests, to the impoverishment of some, and the utter ruin of others. This last instance of oppression sat the more uneasy upon the *English*, because hunting was their favourite diversion, and they do not seem to have been then subjected to the severity of the forest laws; every man, though obliged to abstain from killing or chasing the king's deer, having free liberty to start⁷, pursue, and hunt any game, either in woods or in the open fields, on his own estate. These grievances (he says) provoked a number of the earls and barons to meet together, and resolve in common to get rid of the yoke of an usurper, who having no right to their allegiance governed in so lawless a manner; and that, in consequence of this resolution, they sent to invite over *William* duke of *Normandie*, to assert his claim of the crown; assuring him of their assistance in the enterprise.

"nurses; all cured without the help of a service-
"able imagination." *Animadversions on Fuller's*
Church History, p. 47.

¹ *Brevis relat.*

² *Brompton*, p. 948.

³ *Brompton*, p. 958. *Malmesb. Flor. Wig. Sim.*
Dun. an. 1066.

⁴ *Leland's Itin.* t. iv. p. 157

⁵ *T. iii.* p. 187.

⁶ *Col.* 2339.

⁷ *Leges Canuti*, c. 77. *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 36.

XLIV. THIS was not the only quarter, from whence *Harold* was to expect at-
tacks. His brother *Tosti* hated him mortally; and either out of old resentments,
or envy at his new dignity, or perhaps because on his acquisition of the crown he
had not given him the government of the *West-Saxons*, and their father's patri-
monial estate (which *Wace* says¹, he claimed on *Harold's* mounting the throne,
but was refused) left no means untried to disturb his government. *Tosti* was, at
this time, in the court of *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*, father to his wife *Judith*,
and to *Matilda* duchess of *Normandie*: and presuming upon this affinity, went to
Rouen to persuade the duke to invade *England*. *William* wanted no incitement to
the attempt: he had resolved to raise up all the enemies he could against *Harold*;
and the *Normans* having great affinities in *Norway*, he had taken measures to en-
gage *Harold Harfager*, king of that country, to fall upon the *Northumbrian* terri-
tories, whilst he made a descent in the southern parts of the kingdom. *Tosti* was
well received at *Rouen*: and encouraged to harass the coasts of *England*, whilst the
duke was preparing an armament sufficient to make a formidable invasion. He set
sail accordingly with sixty ships from *Flanders*², landed and raised contributions in
the *Isle of Wight*, and in several places along the coast in his passage thence to *Lin-*
colnshire: but being driven thence by *Edwin* and *Morcar*, was forced to take refuge
in *Scotland*; till *Harold Harfager* arriving with a fleet of two or three hundred
sail at the mouth of the *Tyne*, he joined that prince; and sailing together up the
Humber, they landed in *Yorkshire*. The earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, as-
sembling in haste a body of men ill armed, undisciplined, and unequal in num-
bers to attack them, were routed at *Fulford*: and *York* fell a prey to the enemy.
Harold, on the first news of *Harfager's* descent, had put himself in march with a
royal army of veteran troops to oppose him: but could not come up till five days
after that disaster. The two armies met on *September 25*, near *Standford-brigg*,
since called *Battle-bridge*: where *Harold*, after an obstinate engagement, gained a
complete victory; *Harfager* and *Tosti* being killed on the spot, and the greatest
part of their forces cut in pieces. Those that escaped to their ships, owed their
safety, in a great measure, to the incomparable valour of a brave *Norwegian*³;
who posting himself on the bridge over the *Darwent*, defended it for two or three
hours against the whole *English* army, forty of the boldest falling one after another
under the stroke of his battle-axe: till none daring to approach him, he was slain
by an arrow, which being shot sideways, found an unguarded part of his body.
Harold pursuing his blow, made himself master of most of the *Norwegian*⁴ ships
that lay in the river *Ouse*: and coming to a composition with *Olave*, son of *Har-*
fager, and *Paul*, count of the *Orkneys*, who had been left to guard the fleet, allow-
ed them to go off with twenty of their ships, under the condition of leaving all
their treasure behind. This amounted to a vast sum; it being more than twelve
lusty men could carry⁵: the booty likewise, either taken on the field battle, or de-
livered up by the treaty, was exceeding valuable.

HAROLD II.
England in-
vaded by the
Norwegians,

XLV. THIS victory proved the ruin of *Harold*, whose affairs it seemed to
establish; so much do the good or ill consequences of events depend on a person's
conduct. That very success which raised him to the height of glory, swelled his
pride to an ungovernable degree, and shewed him in his true colours: he was too
much elated therewith to think it longer needful to put any restraint on his avarice,
or to keep any measures with his army; which he took care to disoblige by re-

And by the
Normans.

¹ P. 485.
Dun. ib.

² *Malmesb. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.*
³ *Camden, Brit. Yorkshire.*

⁴ *Brompton, p. 959. Knighton, ib.*

⁵ *Sim.*



serving

HAROLD II. serving all the spoils and treasure to himself¹. He could not well have taken a more impolitic step: nor was any ever more unseasonable; few days having passed before he received advice at *York* of the duke of *Normandie's* being landed with an army of fifty or sixty thousand experienced warriors on *Michaelmas-day*, at *Pevensey* in *Suffex*. The news surprized him the more, as he had begun to flatter himself with a notion, that the *Norman*, after delaying his expedition so long, had in fine laid it aside, upon notice of the land army provided, and the mighty fleet (which some writers compute at seven hundred sail) fitted out, and both stationed at proper places to prevent or oppose a descent.

Harold defeated and slain.

XLVI. THESE armaments had indeed waited all the summer, and till after *September 8*, in the autumn, for that purpose: but had afterwards dispersed, and returned to their homes for want of provisions; leaving both sea and land open to the enemies invasion. *Harold* had lost, in the late battle, a good number of his old mercenary troops, which, whilst duke of the *West-Saxons*, he had, like other governors, since the time of *Edgar*, kept in standing pay at the expence of the people; and which being under his immediate command, and devoted to his interest, had been a great support to him in his pretensions to the crown: but taking the rest, who were in a condition to march along with him, he hasted to *London* with so much expedition, that abundance of them, incensed at their late usage, took occasion on the road to desert. *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with their followers, were in no better humour: and advanced by slow marches. *Harold* hurried on to his fate, and impatient till he engaged the enemy, would not wait² either their coming up to *London*, or the arrival of other forces, which had been ordered to rendezvous there, or even the array and arming of the *Londoners*: but taking with him half, or (as others say) a third part, of the army he might have had in a few days together, advanced with equal confidence and rashness to fight with inferior numbers, an army composed of the bravest and most experienced soldiers under the command of the wisest general of the age; who, in a long series of wars, had never met with any disgrace. The *Normans* could hardly have been supplied with provisions to subsist in an hostile and deep country at so late a season of the year, if he would have taken his measures to distress them in that respect: but infatuated to pursue his own ruin and that of his country, he chose to stake the kingdom on the fate of a day; and coming up with the enemy, was attacked by them before his men had recovered the fatigue of their march, and lost his life in the battle of *Hastings*.

Of the Saxons; their customs and constitution.

XLVII. THAT battle having put an end to the government of the *Saxons* in *England*, it may not be improper, in this place, to take notice of some of the most material parts of their constitution; in which they appear plainly to have agreed with the *Salii*, *Ripuarii*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Goths*, and other German or northern nations, who, upon the dissolution of the *Roman* empire, settled in different parts of *Europe*. The *Old Saxons* that continued in their ancient settlements in *Germany*, after the sending out of so many numerous colonies into this country, remained for several ages in their primitive condition, without any king to govern them, till the time of *Charle-Magne*; whose continual wars with them for thirty years together, made first, a standing, experienced general, and afterwards a monarch, necessary for the defence of their liberties. They were governed all that time by the chieftains of their several clans; who, as *Tacitus*³ observes of the old

¹ *Knighton*, col. 2340. *Chron. Petriburg.* an. 1066.

Petriburg. Hist. Elicnf. l. ii. c. 44.

² *Ingulf. Flor. Wig.* ib. *Sim. Dun.* ib. *Chron.*

³ *De mor. Germ.*

Germans, gave laws and administered justice to their followers, and all upon their own lands: but the civil government of larger territories was vested in an earl or alderman, assisted therein by a council composed of an hundred persons of the most distinguished of the nobility, chosen by a general assembly of the gentry and freeholders within those territories. It was there resolved, what quarter of the country was fit to be tilled from year to year: and the several portions thereof were assigned to people of an inferior rank, employed in rural affairs, and charged with the cultivation of lands, whilst the gentlemen were engaged in military expeditions. To these last was the business of war entirely appropriated among the *Germans*; though the bulk of their armies consisted in foot; so that the terms of *warrior* and *gentleman* were synonymous for many hundred years after the commencement of the *Christian* æra, till the emperors introduced the practice of giving pay to the soldiery, and the profession became less honourable by being made mercenary. A proportionable strength of body being necessary for undergoing the fatigues of war, no body could be admitted to serve, till a certain age required by the law or custom of the nation: and with a political view to raise the warlike ardour of the youth, the ceremony of admission was performed with great solemnity. It was probably a distinction in favour of the most considerable of the young nobility, that they were admitted and invested with their arms in a general diet: upon which they became qualified to be *comites* or companions to their prince, or chieftain; eating at his table; making part of his household; serving as well for an ornament to his retinue in peace, as a support to his authority in war, for the guard or defence of his person. These *comites* answered to the *Equites* among the *Gaules*; it being plain from *Tacitus*, that they served on horseback: since the arms with which they were invested in the diet, were, as he observes¹, the peculiar arms of the cavalry, and the very same with which the constituent members of general councils signified their assent. As there was a dignity in their being about the person of their chieftain, and the *Romans*, from the time that their emperors used to have a *German* guard about them, became familiarised to the terms *duces* and *comites*, these last adopted them into their own usage, applying them to the chief commanders of their forces, and the principal officers in the imperial palace. The custom of admitting these distinguished noblemen to knighthood, or the investiture of arms in a diet, hath been disused in *Germany* for several ages; the ceremony being now performed only in the hall or house of the chieftain, or lord of a territory: which probably was the ancient way of receiving the lesser gentry, that were pitched upon to serve as infantry.

HENCE appear the different orders of people among the *Saxons*, before they were united under a royal government: the chief of a clan, or lord of a tract of country; the nobility of an higher class (perhaps the younger branches of the chieftains family) and of a lesser rank, like the gentry here, or the *noblesse* in *France*; and a lower order of *ingenii* or freemen, employed in rustick affairs. For the *Germans* had no slaves among them, till their wars with the *Romans*, except a few, that either forfeited their liberty by their crimes, or entered into a voluntary servitude in order to secure a maintenance to themselves and families. When *corps* of this people, coming into *England*, had reduced any considerable part of the country, the chieftains, who were at the head of those expeditions, assumed the title of kings, and distributed the conquered lands among their followers, whether of their own clan, or of others who had joined with them in the adventure: which was probably done by lot; it being very clear that their neighbours, the *Franks*², who agreed with them in customs, as well as language, ob-

¹ *Ib.* § 6, 11.² *Paluzii Capitular. Franc.* t. ii. p. 704.

served that method. They seem in this to have copied after the *Romans*, who took a like method in settling their colonies, and in distributing the frontier lands of the empire among the soldiers employed in their defence, descendible to their heirs, at least from the time of *Alexander Severus*. These allotments being made in proportion to the rank which each man held in the army, and to the number of a general's followers, large tracts of country must of course be assigned to the principal commanders; who were probably in such expeditions followed by their own vassals: and these being settled about them, they became the natural governors of countries where they planted; and having been of all councils of war in times of action, became likewise, in seasons of peace, members of the *great councils*, which directed all the important affairs of the kingdom. They are styled in our old *Chronicles*, *principes*, *satrapæ*, *dynastæ*, *maiores natu*, *optimates*, *proceres*, and sometimes *comites*; even after *Alfred's* division of *England* into counties, when the last of those titles was generally no more than a title of office; and in cases where there is no reason to imagine, they had any command or authority, but within their own lands, and over their own vassals. But though these were the constant ordinary members of the *great councils*, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the same usage continued here, which prevailed over all parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and the *North*, where on such extraordinary occasions, as the entering into a war, and the levying of new taxes to support it, the lesser nobility was always convened before a resolution was taken, according to the wellknown maxim; *that what concerned all, ought to be treated by all in common*¹.

It would be easy, were it not too tedious, to verify, by a great number of quotations, all these particulars; except the last, which is supported only by the reason of the thing, by the ancient practice of the *German* nations, and by the subscriptions, of now and then an archdeacon and high sheriff, who yet might have estates to qualify them; but more frequently of the king's *thanes* or *ministers*, to the acts of *great councils*. The ordinary constituent members thereof were only the bishops and abbots, who had very large possessions, and the *proceres*, or chief nobility: nor is there the least passage in any of our old historians and records, that affords any just reason to surmise the contrary; they all speaking of them as so many assemblies of the *proceres*, and mentioning no others among the constituent members, when they come to enumerate the particulars. They do on some occasions indeed make use of the word *populus*, to express the laity in contradistinction to the *clergy*, and to represent the fulness of an assembly: and some have fondly caught at this expression, as if it favoured their groundless notion of a representation of the populace; a thing utterly unknown in any quarter of the world in those ages. But *M. Baluze*, in his preface to the common law of *Germany*², contained in the capitularies of *Charles the Great*, and other kings of *France* (in which the old laws of the *Salii*, *Ripuarii*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, and other *German* nations are comprised) hath fully proved, that this term means only *multitudo procerum*, a numerous assembly of the principal nobility, and that none else had a seat or voice in those *great councils*. Not to enter into a long detail upon this subject, which hath been treated at large and irrefragably proved by the late learned *Dr. Brady*, I shall only mention two relations; which will help to explain what is advanced above, and which I do not remember to have been taken notice of by any writer. *Bede*³ says, that in the great battle fought between *Egfrid* and *Ethel-*

¹ *Hincmar*, speaking of the general councils of the chief nobility of *France* held in his time twice a year, says, that in one of these, the lesser nobility attended to receive instructions, and to give their opinion, but not to decide.—*Non ex potestate, sed*

ex proprio mentis intellectu vel sententia confirmandum. Epist. ad episc. Franciæ, n. 29. in Hincmar. oper. t. ii.

² *Co. Leg. Longobard. l. ii. t. lvi.*

³ *H. E. iv. 22.*

red; in which the latter gained the day, and, by his victory, recovered the country of *Lindsey*, there was left on the field a *Northumbrian* soldier grievously wounded; who was taken up and carried captive into *Mercia*. There he endeavoured to conceal his quality in hopes of being admitted to an easier ransom; pretending to be only a poor *futler*, who was bringing provisions to the army, and came by that means to be accidentally involved in the slaughter of the day: but his good breeding and understanding, much above the level and capacity of a rustick, soon discovered what he really was, and obliged him to own that he was a soldier. This shews plainly, that the *Saxons*, for above two hundred years after they came into *England*, still stuck to the old *German* custom of making use of no soldiers, but who were likewise gentlemen, in their armies.

THE other relation is in the history of *Ely*¹, and sets forth that *Wulfric*, being by *Edward the Confessor*, to whom he was related, appointed, in *A. D.* 1045, abbot of that monastery, made over several of its manors and possessions to his brother *Gudmund*; who was desperately in love with a fair lady, but likely to be disappointed in his courtship, for want of a better estate. The lady was herself a person of quality, daughter of a great man, and heiress of a large estate, which she derived from her ancestors; and though she liked *Gudmund's* person well enough, and had no other objection to the match, yet she absolutely refused to marry him, because, though he was a nobleman, he had not an estate sufficient to qualify him to be one of the *proceres* of the kingdom; to whom, as is above observed, the right of sitting in the great council was appropriated. The abbot, purely out of compassion to his brother, alienated to him the manors of *Merham*, *Livermere*, *Nachenctun*, *Acholt*, *Garboldeſham*, and other lands of the abbey, in order to make him master of forty hides of land: which removing the lady's objection, the marriage took effect. It appears evidently from this relation, that however noble any man was by his birth, and even though descended of the royal family, and related to the king himself, yet he could not be one of the *proceres*, unless he had an estate of forty hides² of land. Nobility of birth was indeed previously necessary; but not a sufficient qualification, without a suitable estate: and this *Saxon* usage, notwithstanding the feudal law occasioned some alteration in the state of things after the conquest, seems to have been a precedent for the distinction made about the time of *Henry II*, between the *greater* and the *lesser* barons: the former only being particularly summoned to parliament.

THE feudal law was nothing but a collection of customs observed in the *German* and other nations with regard to the tenures of land, digested into a body of common law, made up of the most rigid of those customs; which having been first adopted by the *Lombards* in *Italy*, were brought on this side the *Alpes* by *Charles-Magne*, who thought they might be useful for the defence of his vast empire; and received by the *Normans* in all their rigour. Some think that the payment of *heriots* was first introduced by *Canute*, in order, after he had sent away his *Danish* forces, to get all the arms of the kingdom into his hands: but as there were the like payments all over *Germany*, upon the death of a vassal, it seems more likely to have been an ancient *Saxon* custom; such as the dower of a wife, which was always a third of her husband's estate, though only mentioned on occasion of penal laws³, declaring it forfeited in case of her consenting to his iniquity, or of her marrying in less than an year after his decease. Many of these customs prevailed

¹ L. ii. c. 36, 40.

² Some hides consisted only of an hundred and twenty acres; others of two hundred and forty. *Hist. Eliens.* l. i. c. 14. Mr. *Selden*, *not. in Hengham*, p. 1917, produceth several authorities to shew

that an *hide* generally consisted of two hundred and forty acres, till 9 R. 1. it was in the 5 s. aid fixed at an hundred acres, perhaps the common hundred, which was an hundred and twenty

³ *LL. Inq.* 58. *Canut.* 71.

in *England* during the *Saxon* times; for though there were no *premier seisin*, *reliefs*, *homage*, *wardships*, *marriage*, and other hardships of a feudal nature: yet *heriots* were constantly paid to the crown (except in the case of a person killed in its service¹) or to the immediate lord of whom the land was holden. Every freeholder was, after the twelfth year of his age², obliged to take an oath of fealty; as his guardian did for him in case the minor had not attained that age. All lands whatever³ subjected the owner to the obligations of marching in warlike expeditions, and of contributing to the charges of building and repairing castles and bridges; and being bound to have his arms always ready for defence of the country in proportion to his estate; there was every year, on *February* 3,⁴ a general review of those arms, when every body was obliged to produce them, to shew they were in good order; it being made through the whole kingdom on the same day, to prevent any fraud by people's lending them to one another. The time of service, on warlike expeditions, was not limited to forty days, as it was after the conquest, agreeable to the tenor of the feudal law: but was continued⁵ as long as the public necessity, and occasion of the service, required; only in the case of a sea-armament, the cinque ports, who furnished a certain number of ships for that service, were not obliged to provide for them longer than fifteen days⁶ at their own expence. The charges of land-armies were defrayed chiefly by the land-holders; who furnished pay and victuals to the soldiers that composed them: and the money levied for that purpose was not sent to the king, but given to the soldiers themselves. Each county sent a number of men in proportion to its extent, or valuation; the whole kingdom of *England* being divided into two hundred and forty-three thousand and six hundred hides, and the freeholders thereof in a county court⁷ chose the officers and commander in chief of their several forces. In *Berkshire*, according to *Domesday book*, every five hides sent a man: but the proportion seems to be different on extraordinary occasions in times of danger, or in other counties which lay more exposed to the invasions of an enemy; at least *Athelstan's* laws⁸ charge every plough-land with the maintenance of two horsemen. The great towns were also rated at a number of hides: but some of them seem to have compounded as well for a certain number of men to be provided by them in such expeditions (*e. g.*⁹ *Warwick* for ten, *Leicester* twelve, and *Oxford* twenty) as for the rate of the fine to be paid in case of a default, it being fixed at twenty shillings a man; whereas in other cases it amounted to fifty or an hundred shillings. These last were the penalties for not coming upon summons: but as the *Germans* in general thought cowardice and infidelity to be the most infamous of crimes, and punished them in the severest manner, whoever deserted in a march, or quitted his lord in the field, was, by the *Saxon*¹⁰ laws, punished capitally, and forfeited his copy-hold lands to the lord of whom they were held, and his lands of inheritance to the king. In this manner was provision made for the common safety and defence of the nation.

THERE were some lands not liable to any forfeiture; ¹¹ not even for rebellion. These were probably such as had been allotted to the first adventurers, when a partition was made of their conquests, and descended afterwards to their posterity with the same privileges and allodial rights as had been enjoyed by the original proprietors: but they were continually lessening in their quantity, and were, by the time of *Edgar*, reduced to a small pittance; if we may judge of other counties, by

¹ *LL. Edw. conf. c. 36. LL. Canut. c. 69, 75.*

² The same law prevailed in *France* and *Germany*, according to the capitulary of *Pepin* king of *Italy*, c. 36.

³ *LL. Canut. 62.*

⁴ *LL. Edw. conf. c. 35.*

⁵ *LL. Canut. c. 10.*

⁶ See *Consuetudin. de Domesday* in *Gale's Hist. Brit. t. i.*

⁷ *LL. Edw. conf. c. De heretecbiis.*

⁸ *C. 16.*

⁹ *Consuetud. Domesday.*

¹⁰ *LL. Canut. c. 75.*

¹¹ *Hist. Eliesf. l. i.*

c. 35.

what

what is said of that of *Huntingdon*, in a verdict given at the county court soon after that prince's death, and declaring that there were no such unforfeitable lands in it, except two hides near *Spaldwick*. It was impossible for lands to continue long in the same state among a people, whose customs, in relation to the descent of estates, and whose circumstances, in point of situation, were like those of the *English Saxons*. Their landed estates were, upon the death of a proprietor, divided equally, according to the *Roman* law, or rather the custom of the *British* and other *Celtic* nations, among the male children: which reduced them to such a degree, that the descendants of the first conquerors became, in a few successions, not qualified, for want of a sufficient fortune in land, to be admitted among the *proceres* of the realm; till by being put into earldoms, governments, and other offices, or being enriched by grants of manors, from the favour and bounty of the crown, they were enabled to revive that dormant privilege; which, though some of their ancestors had formerly enjoyed it, had been as it were in abeyance, or suspense, during the time of their poverty. The *Saxons* too were continually at war either with the *Britains*, or with one another; so that families were continually extinguishing from the time of their first settlement in *England*: and the *Danish* invasions coming on afterwards, made a terrible havock among them, as well as gave occasion to the forfeiture of whole counties; so that by the time of *Athelstan* almost all the lands of the kingdom had fallen into the crown, either by escheat or forfeiture. They were indeed generally granted out again by our kings, and termed *bocland*, because given by written charters; but on such reservation of rent, and other terms as were expressed in the grant: which regulated likewise the manner of their descent, and either settled or restrained the possessor's power in their disposition and conveyance. Lands of this kind were forfeited for murder or treason: but the forfeiture¹ did not extend to the children of the guilty person, if born before the crime was committed.

THE crown itself descended according to the course of a *lineal agnatic succession*; all the males, descended from the blood of the first king or progenitor of the royal family, succeeding to it in their respective order, by right of blood, *ob sanguinis continuationem*, as the lawyers express themselves. This regular way of succession, founded on the order of nature, seems to have been the constitution of all the *German* nations in ancient times: and obtained in *France*, as well as in the empire. In this kind of succession, when a prince hath several sons, each of these form a distinct line or primogeniture; the elder taking place before the younger; so that till the line of the eldest son is extinct, neither the second son, nor any of his descendants, can succeed: but when that is extinct, the line of the second son takes place; and this being extinct, the third comes in; and so on in their respective order; still keeping to the rule, that none of a second, third, fourth, fifth, or other line can succeed, whilst there are any males of an elder or preceding line remaining. This rule holds in the collateral, as well as direct, branches; the brothers of a king forming each of them a distinct *line*, with the same right and order of succession. Such was the constitution of all the kingdoms of the *Saxon heptarchy*: and for this reason, our old historians, when they speak of a prince's accession to any of those crowns, constantly take care to describe his genealogy, and shew the line of his descent from the *Genarcha*, or first king of the nation. This appears throughout the whole *Saxon Chronicle*, more particularly with regard to the succession of the *West-Saxon* princes; whose kingdom and constitution agreed with the others, if it did not serve for a rule to all the rest of *England*, according to the *Saxon* laws contained in the charter of² *Henry I*, where it is styled *caput regni et legum*.

¹ *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 19.

² *Lambard's Archaionom.* p. 202, 210. c. 70, 87.

KINGDOMS being indivisible in their nature, could not be shared among the children; so that the eldest son succeeded to the whole of his father's realm in every kingdom of the heptarchy: but this did not hinder princes from giving, out of their conquests, considerable *appanages* to their younger sons; who possessed them with so full an authority, that they they are often styled kings by our old writers. These *appanages* do not seem to have been dismembered from the body of the kingdom, and to have formed so many distinct sovereignties, as they appear to have done in *France* after its conquest by *Clovis*, and in the time of his descendants; the kingdoms of the *English* heptarchy being of too small an extent to admit of such a dismembering, before the reigns of *Egbert* and *Ethelwolf*. In all those kingdoms, when the princes thereof died without issue male, their daughters never succeeded nor advanced any pretensions to the crown; so that the rule of succession was the same here among our *Saxon* princes, as it was in *France* under the *Merovingian* and *Caroline* races. The *French* imagining, they derived great advantages from such an exclusion of females, have ever since adhered to the same order of succession: but it was altered in this country, either upon the conquest, among other changes made by the *Normans*, or upon the utter extinction of the male line of our kings in *Edgar Atheling*, according to the analogy of the law or customs¹ received among the *German*, *Saxon*, and *French* nations, in the case of private inheritances; which, though descending lineally according to proximity in blood² in the male line, yet, in defect of male heirs, went to the females; who in such cases succeeded to lands, as well of a noble, as a baser tenure.

Their laws.

XLVIII. THE laws of all the *German* nations on the continent, and of the *Saxons* in this island, consisted in customs immemorially observed, without being committed to writing; the general tenor thereof being the same in all their colonies, as appears evidently from the *Capitularies*. The collections of our old *Saxon* laws, that have been transmitted to us, contain only some constitutions of our princes, occasioned by the establishment of *Christianity*, or designed to moderate the rigour of the common law; or else to provide against certain inconveniencies, which a change of times and circumstances had introduced. The considering them in another light hath occasioned some to think, that our ancestors did not inflict on offenders penalties adequate to the heinousness of their crimes; and that pecuniary mulcts were all the punishment denounced against the greatest: but there are passages enough, even in these provisional statutes, which are most of them penal, to shew the grossness of their mistake. Such commutations were indeed allowed in several capital crimes, in the case of a first offence, as *Alfred* declares in the preface to his laws; and likewise upon an offender's repentance, confession, and taking refuge in a church or sanctuary: but notwithstanding this mitigation of the rigour of the law, the criminal came not off so easily, as is now surmised; since if he did not pay the mulcts, in any age when money was very scarce, he was with his wife and children reduced to a state of slavery. These mulcts were fixed, that the offender might not lye at the judge's mercy, nor the injured person and his family be defrauded: in which last case the law provided so carefully, that though the king could pardon all crimes, even murders and treason, as to life and limb³, yet he could not remit the fine due by law to the injured person or family. Even theft could not be commuted, if repeated⁴; the offender being to be hanged without mercy: and that it was, in the strictness of law, capital in the first instance, when manifest, appears from *Edgar's* laws⁵, and

¹ *LL. Ripuar. c. 56.* See *Not. Bignon.* in *Leg. Salic.* and in *Marculfi Form.* in *Capit. Franc. t. ii.* p. 854, 936. *LL. Angl. tit. vi. de Allod. § 1.* ² *Tacit. De mor. Germ. n. 20.* ³ *LL. Edw. conf. c. 19.*
⁴ *LL. Ine, c. 23.* *LL. Ethelred. c. 1.* ⁵ *LL. Edgar. 7.*

the relation of the case of *Athelstan*¹ a presbyter, who having concealed some stolen goods, was for that offence subject to death, if the secular courts took cognizance of his crime, or to degradation, if tried by his bishop; this latter penalty inflicted on a clergyman being deemed equivalent to a capital punishment in a layman. In some cases when the criminal was a *ceorl* or rustick, it was punished² with the cutting off the hand and foot: but there were few instances wherein the *Saxons* proceeded to corporal punishments in the case of any persons, but slaves; who alone were subject to whipping³, in cases where others commuted, and to⁴ castration for the crime of fornication. In punishments of this kind, the vengeance of the law fell upon that part of the body which had been immediately concerned in the crime, or the amputation whereof would probably prevent a future relapse. Thus a wife committing adultery⁵ not only forfeited all her estate to the husband, but had her nose and ears cut off, being branded for ever with infamy. Sacrilege and false⁶ coining, were punished with cutting off the hand, and such as spread false reports⁷ and calumnies to the prejudice of others either in their person or fortune, had their tongue cut out, upon proof of the falshood of the aspersions⁸. In these points the *English* agreed with the customs of other *German* nations, as appears throughout the capitularies.

THERE was a like agreement between them in their methods of proof, and their courts of judicature: no servant could be interrogated or examined against his master, when life was in⁹ question; whoever had given false testimony in any cause, could not¹⁰, though he were pardoned, be ever after admitted as a witness; all slaves¹¹, even after they were manumised, and all persons reputed infamous, as having been censured in any civil or ecclesiastical court, lay under the same incapacity. It was one reason why the jurors that were to judge in causes civil and criminal, were necessarily to be summoned out of the neighbourhood of the place where the matter in controversy lay, or the fact was committed; because¹² they were best acquainted with the character of the witnesses produced, and well qualified to judge of the credit to be given to their testimony, by having a sufficient knowlege of the case, and being able to attest the fact themselves. But notwithstanding their care in this respect, false testimonies became very frequent; and every suspected, or insufficiently accused, person being obliged to clear his innocence by the oaths of a great number of compurgators, who swore to their belief of the truth of what the criminal deposed himself, this custom of swearing, rendering oaths familiar, gave occasion to an infinite number of perjuries. To prevent these, and to preserve innocence from the dangers to which it was exposed by a too general contempt of oaths¹³, several methods of trial were invented by the *German* and other northern nations; in consequence of a notion, that God presided over trials by fire and water, and would always interpose miraculously to declare innocence. These methods were most of them introduced in the times of paganism, being remains of the superstition of the old *Germans*, who were extremely given to divinations of various kinds, as *Tacitus* observes: but were continued, or revived, after the reception of *Christianity*, in imitation of the water of jealousy among the *Jews*, or out of an extravagant opinion of the miraculous virtue of relicks.

Thus *Gondebaud*, king of the *Burgundians*¹⁴, about *A. D.* 501, instituted duels or combats; which, however it exposed an innocent person to the sword of his ac-

¹ *Hist. Elensf.* l. i. c. 42.

² *L.L. Ine*, c. 18. 37.

³ *Ib.* c. 55.

⁴ *L.L. Alured*, c. 25.

⁵ *L.L. Canut*, 50.

⁶ *L.L. Alured*, c. 6.

⁷ *L.L. Canut*, c. 8.

⁸ *L.L. Alured*, c. 28. *Edgar*, c. 4. *Canut. polic.*

c. 15. ⁹ *Baluz. Capit.* t. ii. p. 1062, 1067.

¹⁰ 1103. 1123. *L.L. Athelstan*, 4.

¹¹ *L.L. Canut*, c. 33, 34.

¹² *Capitular.* t. i.

p. 763. 949. *ib.* p. 1122. 1103.

¹³ *Ib.* p. 884. *Fortescue De leg. Angl.* c. 28.

¹⁴ See *L.L. Edw. sen.* c. 3. *L.L. Athelstan.*

c. 14. 23. *L.L. Hen. I.* c. 89.

¹⁵ *L.L. Bur-*

gund. t. xlv.

cufer and the hazard of a victory, feemed to allow him a better chance for his life, than he had, in an age of perjuries, from the confcience and veracity of witneffes. This practice was foon adopted by the *French*; from whom it paffed to the *Lombards*, *Bavarians*, and other nations: but was not introduced into *England*, till after the conquest by the *Normans*. The methods of a like kind here ufed for the clearing of innocence, or difcovery of truth, were the *fire* and the *water-ordeal*; the former being confined to gentlemen¹; the other ferving for the trial of the common people. The *fire-ordeal* had been ufed by the *Ripuarians*², before they were *Chriftians*, and by other heathens (fuch probably as worffhiped *fire*) before the time of ³*Sophocles*: it was practifed alfo by the *Wifigoths*⁴; and confifted either in taking up with the naked hand a bar of iron, heated burning hot, of the weight of one or more pounds, according to the number of articles exhibited againft a perfon, and carrying it to a certain diftance; or in walking blindfold and barefoot over a number of plough-fhares, heated in the like manner, and placed about a yard diftant from each other. If the perfon, put to this trial, underwent it, without difcovering any fenfe of pain, or having any marks of hurt in his hands or feet, he was acquitted immediately: but if it happened otherwife, he fuffered the punifhment which the law inflicted. The trial in *water-ordeal* was, either by plunging the arm up to the elbow in fcaling water, in which manner *Tetberga*⁵, the emperor *Lothair's* wife, was cleared, by her deputy's efcaping unhurt; or by cafting the perfon fufpected into a river or pond of cold water: in which cafe, if he floated on the furface without any swimming pofture, it was deemed an evidence of his guilt; but if he funk, he was acquitted. The institution of this laft method of purgation, is by fome afcribed to Pope *Eugenius II*⁶, who eftablifhed it at the request of the emperor *Louis*, fon of *Charle-Magne*: but it feems more probable, that he onely⁷ appointed the form of divine fervice on that occafion, as we learn from the *Membranæ Remigianæ*, wrote in the fame age, and other ancient authorities. It was much oppofed by many of the clergy⁸, who thought it prepofterous to make swimming an argument of guilt, when *St. Peter* funk for want of faith, the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red fea*, and the guilty world was overwhelmed by the general deluge, whilft *Noah* and his pious family floated in the ark upon the top of the waters. Thefe and the like objections had fo much weight, that foon after that Pope's death, the capitularies of *Aix la Chappelle* in *A. D.* 828, and of *Wormes A. D.* 829, forbade its being ufed by any of the imperial delegates, appointed to infpect the adminiftration of juftice in the provinces of the empire. All thefe practices, dignified by the title of *Judicium Dei*, were oppofed by feveral bishops⁹, as unauthorized acts, on which no ftrefs could be laid; as mere human inventions, without any warrant from fcripture; and as affording wicked perfons means, by fecret arts, tricks, and forceries, to make falfhood triumph over truth, and guilt get the better of innocence. It was certainly a very unreafonable thing to pronounce a man guilty, unlefs he was cleared by a miracle; and to make a particular interpoftion of providence neceffary to fave innocence from deftruction; fo that *Stephen V*, who came to the papacy in *A. D.* 885,

¹ *Glanvil. De leg. Angl.* l. xiv. c. i.

Ripuar. tit. xxx.

² *Lex Ripuar.* tit. xxx. ³ *Antigone*, § 270.

⁴ *Lex Wifigoth.* l. vi. tit. i. c. iii. ⁵ *Hincmar Opera*,

t. i. p. 568. ⁶ See *Mabillon's Analeſta*, t. i.

p. 47.

⁷ *Gregory of Tours* fpeaks of a woman of *Lyon*, accuſed by her huſband of adultery, and thrown by the judge's ſentence into the river *Saone*, to prove the truth of the caſe: and in various places of his works mentions all the different kinds of

ordeal. *G. Logotheta*, *Pachymerus*, and others of the *Byzantine* hiſtorians, ſpeak alſo of them, not as *Roman* institutions, but as the cuſtoms of barbarous nations. See *Bignon not. ad leg. Salic.* in *Baluz. Capit.* t. ii. p. 850. The offices preſcribed on theſe occaſions are to be ſeen in *Marculf*, *Baluz. Capit.* t. ii. p. 640. *Mabillon. Analeſta*, t. i. p. 47. and *Lambard's Gloſſ. v. ORDALIUM.*

⁸ *Hincmar. Op.* t. i. p. 618.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 599:

thought fit to condemn the trials by *hot iron*, and *scalding water*. Several councils in *France* and *Germany* declared from time to time against all these *ordeals*: but people were so attached to their old customs, that it was the work of some ¹ ages to extirpate their practice. In *England* they continued to the time of *Henry III*; in the third year of whose reign orders ² were given by the king's council, to some of the itinerant justices in their circuits, not to put any upon the *trial ordeal*; which, after languishing for some time, fell at last entirely into disuse.

THERE were other of the like superstitious methods of purgation used, though less frequently, and in less considerable instances, among the *English Saxons*; as well as by all the *German* nations on the continent: particularly what was called by the former, *corfne*³ (*the loaf of execration*) or the judicial morsel. It was a piece of bread, or cheese, weighing about an ounce; which, after a form of exorcism⁴, appointing its use, and desiring of the Almighty, that it might cause paleness in the countenance, convulsions in the limbs, and find no passage, if the man was really guilty, but that it might be easily swallowed, and turn to health and nourishment, in case he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, was given to the suspected person; who was thereupon acquitted or condemned, as these effects respectively followed. In all trials of this kind, the accused generally received the eucharist; being first adjured by the relicks of saints, and by every thing deemed most sacred by a *Christian*, not to communicate, unless he were innocent: and the usages themselves seem to have been, either the remains of pagan superstitions and divinations, or else to have been taken up (as the forms of service used on those occasions indicate) in imitation of some miraculous deliverances recorded in the *Old* and *New Testaments*, and in consequence of a groundless notion, that a sacerdotal prayer or blessing can endow inanimate things with supernatural powers and virtues. This notion, however it came to be entertained at first, hath certainly no warrant either from scripture or reason; for the natural operations and effects of things, being settled by the God of nature in their first creation, he alone can suspend those operations, and superadd to them other virtues. He hath been pleased to do so in some cases, as in baptism and the eucharist; and hath expressly authorised us to ascribe to the elements therein used supernatural effects: yet as these do not flow from the nature of those elements or actions, but are owing purely to the divine institution, we can neither depend upon such effects in those instances when we deviate from the institution, nor on the like in any others, which are founded only upon human institution.

XLIX. THE courts of justice, established or regulated by *Alfred*, had likewise a great affinity with those of *Germany*⁵, where they had their baron, hundred, and county-courts, as we see throughout the capitularies: so that whatever new order that king might settle in these, the lesser judicature of tythings for the determination of small trespasses, and of disputes about boundaries, and the view of frank-pledges, seem to have been the principal parts of his peculiar institutions. The hundred and county-courts among the *Alamanni*, *Salii*, *Franks*, and *Lombards*, were empowered to determine all controversies; except in cases where either the liberty of persons or the property of lands were concerned: but of these they could not take cognisance,⁶ unless either the earl or the royal delegate were present. It is not unlikely, that they lay under the same restraint here, till the reign of *Alfred*; when the sheriff, who had acted before as the earl's deputy, was made an independent magistrate, with an inherent power to judge, in conjunction with

Courts of
justice.

¹ See *Specula Juridica Suevic.* c. 374. and *Saxonic.* l. i. Art. 39.

t. ii. p. 654.

⁵ *LL. Alaman.* t. xxxii. § 1, 2.

³ *LL. Canut.*

⁴ *Coke's Reports*, Part 5.

⁶ See *Baluz. Capit.* t. i. p. 354, 473, 769.

⁴ *Ib.* v. *PANIS*, and *Capit.* 796.

the freeholders, who owed suit and service to the county-court, and were his assessors in judicature; and to determine all causes cognisable in that court. But from that time, it is evident, by abundance of facts related in the books of *Ramsay* and *Ely*, that the titles of lands and manors were tried and decided; fines and concords passed; sales, mortgages, purchases, donations of estates, manumissions, &c. made, not only in county-courts, but even in those of the hundred. These county-courts¹ were held every month throughout the year: and in that of *October*, the sheriffs were annually chosen for the year ensuing by the freeholders, who were their co-assessors in judgment; as the *heretochs* also were, who had the command of all the military forces of the county. The *centenary*, or president of the hundred court, was chosen in the same manner: and Sir *H. Spelman*², in his *Icenia*, says, that *Flit-hamburg* was the usual place for convening the freeholders of an hundred in the county of *Norfolk*, for such elections. The³ capitularies shew, that they were chosen in the like manner among the *Franks* and *Germans*; so careful were those nations to have the general administration of justice reposed in the hands of those who had the greatest share of landed property in the country. The freeholders of those days (all that held by military tenure being so called, if they had not received knighthood) were men of considerable estates: and it would not be disagreeable to the spirit of our old *Saxon* constitution, if, notwithstanding any later alteration in the state of things, justices of the peace were now chosen, as the coroners, the original conservators of the peace, formerly were, and still are, by the freeholders; or else gentlemen of certain estates, equivalent to those of knights in former days, had of course a power of acting as justices vested in their persons, on account of their possession of such estates, without depending on ministerial pleasure for a special commission.

OUT of the co-assessors in these county and hundred courts, were the twelve jurors chosen by the rest; all taken from the neighbourhood of the place where the matter of dispute lay, or the fact in question was committed; and all acquainted with the state of the case, and qualified to determine it by their own knowledge: on which account they are sometimes termed *witnesses*, as the judgment of those courts is often called the *testimony* of the county or hundred⁴. They had no notion of persons brought from distant parts, being competent witnesses in the causes that came before them: and none were admitted to be of the jury, but such as knew the truth of the thing in question, and⁵ were able to give a verdict upon their own knowledge. They were not however mere witnesses; being likewise judges in *England*⁶, as well as *Germany*; and even more considerable than the other assessors, because their superior knowledge of the point in question influenced the judgment of the rest; so that, by what appears of the proceedings in former days, they seem to be somewhat like the *rapporteurs*, or committees of the judicatures, called *parlements* in *France*, appointed by the whole court to examine a case, and report their opinion; which is generally followed in the decision. In *Sweden* and the north of *Europe*, they still continue to exercise their judicial capacity: but it seems to have been laid aside in some measure here, ever since the conquest; when the *Normans* gradually introduced this and other deviations from the *English* usages. In the famous court held on *Pinnenden beath*, near *Maidstone* in *Kent*, in the time of *William the Conqueror*, to⁷ determine the right of lands, belonging to the church of *Canterbury*, and disputed between archbishop *Lanfranc* and *Odo* earl of *Kent*, the whole county sat in judgment, and gave their sentence, without having recourse to a select jury: and the same method was taken at the trial of the cause between

¹ *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 36.p. 146. ² *Baluz. Capit.* t. i. p. 544, 756.⁴ *LL. Canut. Polit.* c. 76.² *Reliq. Spelm.* t. i. p. 884.montic. *Wall.* c. 4.⁵ *Baluz. Capit.* col. 896. c. 4.⁶ *Glanvil.* l. ii. c. 11. *Sc. De**LL. Ethelred* in *Brompton*,*Hicks's Dissertat. Epistolaris.*

the

the abbey of *Croyland* and *Ivo Taillebois*, in the county-court held at *Spalding*, according to *Ingulf's* relation. But ¹ when, in the same reign, the suit of *Gundulf*, bishop of *Rockester*, against *Picot* the sheriff, about lands in *Gisleham*, came to be tried in the county-court of *Kent*, all the freeholders met to decide it: and for fear of the sheriff, declared that the land belonged to the crown. *Odo* the earl, who presided in the court, as the king's justiciary, suspecting how the matter went, made them a proposal; which insinuates, that the assessors in these courts took no oath to do justice; and which he imagined might contribute to discover the truth, and procure a right decision of the controversy. He ordered them, if they knew what they said to be true, to choose *twelve* of their number, to confirm what they said upon oath; which was done: and the jurors, after retiring to consult together, being terrified by the sheriff, swore to the truth of what had been said, and the land, upon this verdict, was adjudged to the king. It appeared afterwards very plainly that the jurors were perjured: and some of them confessing it, the sheriff was ordered to summon all the rest to *London*, with twelve others of the most considerable freeholders of the county, to appear before the great barons of all *England*; when the first jury either owning their guilt, or declining to prove their innocence by the *fire-ordeal*, were fined, and the land adjudged to the bishop. This was the first precedent after the conquest of a jury, not named by the sheriff, but chosen by the freeholders assembled in the court: and it doth not appear to be followed in other trials, till after the time of king *Stephen*; there being no notice taken of any between the monks of *Canterbury* and *Ralf Picot* the sheriff, which was tried at the latter end of that prince's reign, in *A. D.* 1153, in the county-court held at *Castaners*. It was *Henry II.*, who, to prevent the mischiefs arising from trials by battle, which had been introduced by the *Normans*, first instituted the *grande assise* ²; leaving it to the defendant's option to defend his right in the lands he possessed either by battle, or by the judgment of a jury of twelve men, chosen by four legal knights of the county, out of the neighbourhood. This was done by the council of the nobility: and thus were juries established in the manner that hath ever since obtained, except in the point of their nomination: which by an unhappy policy of adding, upon favourable occasions, to the ordinary power of the officers of the crown, hath since fallen into the hands of the sheriffs.

It is very probable, that such jurors had originally, even in *Normandie*, a judicial power, they being, in the *grand custumier* of that country, termed *judicarii*; and the custom of jurors having been established with a judicial power by king *Regner Lodbrog* ³, when he abolished duels in *Denmark*, about *A. D.* 820, above fifty years before *Rollo* left that country, in order to invade *France* and settle in *Normandie*. It is not worth while to dispute, whether juries, at this day in *England*, may be properly termed *judges*; since they are so in effect, and their verdict ⁴ is a judgment to all intents and purposes; the king's justices, who preside in the court, being indispensably obliged to conform to it in their sentence. The lord chancellor *Fortescue* ⁵ considers them as witnesses, on account of the knowledge which they are supposed to have of the fact or point in issue; it being for this reason, that they ought always to be summoned out of the *neighbourhood* of the place: and their knowledge of the fact, as well as of the persons, circumstances, and characters of their neighbours, enabling them to judge as well of the credibility of the other witnesses, as of the truth or falshood of their depositions. These are points in which they ought to exercise their judgment, and make use of all their knowledge, without taking what is sworn for granted. The very reason why they

¹ See *Selden not. in Eadmer.* p. 197.

² *Glanvil.* l. ii. c. 7, 10, 16.

³ *Sax. Gram. Hist.*

Danic. l. ix. ⁴ This verdict is in the phrase and sense of our law, the *judgment* of a man's *peers*.

⁵ *Com. de leg. Angliæ,* c. 26, 27.

are impannelled out of the *neighbourhood* is, in order to guard against unknown, suborned, hireling, vagabond, malicious, and scandalous witnesses: and if they are not made use of in the courts of admiralty, or of the constable and marshal for the trial of facts or contracts committed on the high seas, or made in foreign parts, it is because in such cases there are no neighbours to be put upon juries.

NORMANDIE was divided into *vicontes* and *bailliages*; cantons of country answering to our hundreds and counties; each district having its respective court for administering justice to the people within its jurisdiction. The great lords had also their court barons; in which they exercised a jurisdiction over their tenants, and such as resided within their manors. The *Normans* thus agreed in general with the *English*, *Germans*, and other northern nations in their usages: but had likewise some peculiar customs of their own, particularly in the point of feudal jurisdiction; so that though they kept up the names of the hundred and county-courts in *England*, they yet introduced new forms, laws, and proceedings into them after the conquest. In those courts, the parties concerned in any causes, were summoned to give their answer, or appear in court, by some of the freeholders or assessors in it, deputed by the rest to attend them for that purpose: and they pleaded their cause either by themselves, or by a proxy, generally one of the suitors of the court, whom either friendship engaged, or chance offered, to assert the justice of their claim, which was determined in a summary way. But after the conquest this method fell into disuse: writs, and advocates by profession, were introduced and multiplied as occasions offered; law became a trade; suits were drawn out to a tedious length, and attended with an expence unknown before; justice, no longer administered in its primitive simplicity, began to give way to those querks, niceties, and chicanes, which the *Normans* have been ever noted for encouraging, and which have since abounded to such an excess, as to baffle right, and prevent relief to the injured; to evade the redress which equity demands; to render the event of a suit uncertain; to stifle the merits of a cause; and to make the decision depend, not so much on its goodness, as on the ability, care, and honesty of the lawyer, to whose management it is committed. The feudal law, which had been practised in *Normandie*, was brought over hither with all its rigorous appendages; and took place not only in courts baron, but in other courts to such a degree, as to extinguish a great part of the old *English* customs: and the causes of great lords, cognisable before in the hundred and county-courts, were now reserved to the king's court; which soon began to be pestered, not only by those original causes, but by a multitude of appeals¹ from inferior judicatures. In such cases, when parties were to seek for justice at an inconvenient distance from their own homes, and to be summoned out of the counties where they resided, it became necessary for that purpose, instead of messengers, to make use of writs; which being drawn up by the king's chancellor or chief chaplain, and the clergy under him, attending about court, and serving for notaries and secretaries, were sealed by the chief justiciary, and sent with his attestation all over the kingdom. The *English* Saxon prelates and nobility, according to ancient custom, constantly attended the king at the three great festivals of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsonide*: and the *Normans* paying the like attendance on their duke, these were the principal seasons for hearing causes in the king's court; who sitting himself in judgment, had the crown put upon his head with great solemnity by the archbishop of *Caterbury*, and appeared with all the pomp and ensigns of majesty on these occasions. It is not improbable, but the

¹ Such appeals to the king's court were very rare, and original causes there were utterly unknown, in the *Saxon* times; it being expressly forbidden by law to apply thither, till after having

sought justice in vain in the county-courts, or in order to moderate the rigour of the law in certain cases. *I.L. Athelstan*, c. 3. *LL. Edgar*, c. 2. *LL. Canut*, c. 16, &c.

archbishop heard ecclesiastical causes at the same time; since so high up as *A. D.* 678, *Egfrid* king of the *Northumbrians*, and archbishop *Theodore*, sat together in public and gave audience to the people. The county and hundred courts were not taken up only with the causes of private men: the king's business was likewise transacted therein, and he had two delegates, like the imperial *Missi* in *Germany*, to attend them ordinarily to take care thereof; a charge which the chief justiciary executed on some occasions after the conquest; but the pleas of the crown, as they are termed, were generally held in the sheriff's turns, twice a year, after the feasts of *Easter* and *Michaelmas*. In civil causes about lands, possession was then a very great advantage, and when continued for any considerable time, in a country, where justice was speedily done and the procuring it attended with little expence, served generally for a rule to the decision, it being what the hundred or county could well attest. There was no attacking it without a very clear title: and so little encouragement given to litigious suits, that such as sued unjustly for lands, if they proceeded to a trial and examination of witnesses upon oath, not only lost the land in question, but were obliged moreover to pay the full price thereof; besides the valuation of their head as a fine to the king². All the freeholders, within the districts of these courts, were suitors thereto; and obliged to attend them constantly, under very severe penalties, if thrice absent³ after a week's notice had been given of the time and place of the court's sitting: and to bar all excuses for non-attendance, they could not be arrested or molested in their going thither⁴ or return thence; a privilege, which seems to have been the foundation of that which our kings granted afterwards to the representatives of the commons in parliament. The bishop, his archdeacon, or some other commissary, constantly sat in those courts, with the earl, sheriff or centenary, to judge; the former in causes of an ecclesiastical nature, and even in criminal ones wherein the clergy were concerned, for which they had a book of canons to serve for their guide; the latter in civil and criminal matters, according to a *Dome-boc* or code of laws; by which they were directed in their judgment. These two judicatures went hand in hand together; and were exercised in all the *Saxon* times with so perfect an harmony, that there never was the least complaint, either of any encroachment on the civil power, or of any invasion of the rights and immunities of the clergy; so little reason is there to imagine any real incompatibility in those different jurisdictions which some catching, at disputes arisen since their separation by *William the Conqueror*, though owing evidently to other causes, have been willing to surmise.

L. INGULF mentions two *English* customs; the one relating to the manner of conferring knighthood, the other to the conveyances of land, which were altered immediately after the conquest. When a gentleman was to be knighted, he usually came the evening before to some bishop, abbot, monk, or priest; made a confession of all his sins; declared his hearty repentance thereof; and being absolved, watched in the church all night, which he spent in fasting, meditation, and prayers. When he was in the morning to hear mass, he offered his sword upon the altar: and after the gospel, the priest put the sword thus consecrated, on his neck or shoulder, with a solemn prayer or benediction. This was followed by the reception of the eucharist; which compleating the ceremony, the person thus initiated was reputed a compleat knight. In this manner was the famous *He-*

Manner of
conferring
knighthood,

¹ *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 24.

² See the proceedings in the county-court at *Cwichelmestow* in king *Ethelred's* time *Dr. Hicke's Thesaur. ling. septent.* t. ii. p. 5, 6, 7. *LL. Inæ*, Vol. I.

c. 10. and *LL. Canut.* c. 60.

³ *LL. Athelstan.* c. 20.

⁴ *LL. Canut.* c. 79.

⁵ *Thesaur. ling. septent.* t. ii. p. 60.

reward, with some of his followers, knighted by his uncle *Brand*, abbot of *Peterborough*: but the *Normans* absolutely disliked this way of conferring knight-hood as too mean and ignoble, and thought it unworthy of a soldier to submit to a sacerdotal dubbing. Hence it came to be generally laid aside after the conquest; though in some cases, where policy or devotion interposed, it was still retained; *William Rufus* being knighted in his father's life-time by archbishop *Lanfranc*. This method seems to have continued in ¹ *England* till *A. D.* 1102. when abbots were, in the synod of *London* held under *Anselm*, forbidden to make knights; but it never was the only one here used, since *Offa* king of *Mercia* knighted his son *Egferth* in a council of his nobility, and *Alfred* did the same honour to his grandson *Atbelstan*.

and of conveying lands.

LI. As to the manner of conveying estates; this was often done in the *Saxon* times, by the delivery of a turf, an horn, a cup, a sword, helmet, bow, arrow, or other symbols, without any writing at all: and when a deed or instrument was drawn for the like purpose (which came in use after the nation was converted to *Christianity*) it was subscribed by the witnesses present at its execution, with golden crosses and other marks affixed to their names. Both these usages were soon laid aside by the *Normans*; who looked upon no charters as authentick, that had not on them an impression of wax made by the seal of the granter ²; which was generally pendant: though it is not so in *William the Conqueror's* charter to the church of *Exeter*; which only recites the names of the witnesses present, without giving them the trouble of subscribing; the seal alone being deemed a sufficient proof of the instrument. This is generally taken for granted; at least if *Ingulf* be understood to mean pendant seals, which were affixed to charters in various manners: but it will not hold in all respects, if taken in the rigour; because the use of seals in *England*, is undoubtedly more ancient than the conquest; and even after that revolution, we find charters of our kings subscribed by witnesses. *Silas Taylor* says ³, “ he had seen a charter sealed before the conquest, and had seen “ other charters since the conquest, signed both by *William I.* and his son *Henry*, “ with a great number of witnesses and crosses before their names.” That of *William the Conqueror*, granting the manor ⁴ of *Heminburch* to the church of *Durham*, hath not only a pendant seal to it: but is signed also by the witnesses with crosses after the *Saxon* manner; as is another of his, being a grant of the manor of *Winantune* to the abbey of *Westminster*, made at *Whitfontide A. D.* 1070, in a common council of the realm then sitting. The letters patent under the great seal of that prince, confirming lands in *Lothian* granted by *Edgar* ⁵ son of *Malcolm*, king of *Scotland*, to the church of *Durham*, is attested by no witness: and there are several other charters, as well of his, as of his three next successors, in which not above one is mentioned. *Matthew Paris* ⁶ affirms, that there were in his time several grants of *Saxon* kings under seal preserved in other monasteries, besides that of *Westminster*: and there is in the *Cotton Library* an instrument under the seal of *Edward the Confessor*. The charters which this king is supposed to have granted to the church of *Westminster*, are likewise under seal; and that he generally used one in his grants, is put out of all doubt by abundance of

¹ It continued longer in other countries, for *Yohannes Sarisburiensis* was knighted in *Italy* by archdeacon *Baldwin* in the reign of *Henry II* (See his *Epist.* 219.) and the *Normans* themselves kept up the religious ceremonies of bathing and offering the sword on the altar. See *Anstis* on the Knight-

hood of the Bath.

² *Thesaur. ling. septent.* t. ii. *Diff. Ep.* p. 3. 74. 84. ³ *History of Gavelkind*, p. 72.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 63, 64. ⁵ *Ib.* p. 73, 74.

⁶ *Vit. Abbatum l. Albani*, p. 79.

passages in the ¹ book of *Domesday*. If any cavil be made about these on account of the large and undeterminate sense of the word *Sigillum*, it may be observed further, that this sense is not reconcileable to the expressions of some of his charters ². There are in the ³ register of *Ramsay*, the *Latin* translations of four or five *Saxon* charters, granted to that abbey by the same king, and sealed with the impression of his image, *regiæ suæ imaginis impressione roboratæ*. Sir *H. Spelman* ⁴ says, he had seen two seals of the *Confessor*: and there is a charter of his to the church of *Canterbury*, with his seal to it in the custody of Sir *Edward Dering*. If there be no interpolation in the fifteenth law of that king, and if the *Latin* translation of it from the *Saxon* only adopted the phraseology introduced after the conquest, when the great lords and most considerable freeholders came to be termed barons, the use of seals, was certainly very common in his days, among the nobility. Even pendant seals were then used; as is evident from the testimony of *Silas Taylor* ⁵, who, during the rebellion against king *Charles I*, and in the time of the usurpation which it produced, had the ransacking of all the registers and records of the church of *Hereford*; and says, “that king *Edward* made a grant of some privileges to that church, and firmed it with a seal; which in one of their register books is described to be preserved, *in panno serico*, and a memorandum also of the circumscription of the said seal to be this, *hoc est sigillum regis Edwardi*.” *Madox* has also ⁶ printed a charter of his to the church of *Westminster*; which on a strip of parchment cut from the bottom, hath a round pendant seal of red wax, three inches large, the delineation whereof is in ⁷ *Speed's* history. Were it not for *Ingulph's* testimony in this point, it might perhaps admit a doubt, whether the *Normans* did not borrow the use of seals from the *English*, rather than these last from the others; for whatever is to be said with regard to the practice of abbeys in *Normandie*, which that writer had particular reasons to know, the dukes did not always put their seals to charters. *Ryley* ⁸ mentions a grant of *Richard II*, grandfather of the conqueror, to the abbey of *Mont St. Michel*, containing a donation of certain lands in *Jersey*, without a seal: and as to pendant ones, they were certainly made use of here, before the *French* adopted them into their practice, which perhaps they borrowed from *England*. For *Du Fresne* ⁹, in his learned observations on *Ville-Hardouin*, says, that they did not begin to use pendant seals in *France*, till about *A. D.* 1112: and it was about the same time, that such seals obtained also in ¹⁰ *Flanders*.

THEY were undoubtedly used an hundred and fifty years earlier in this nation; there being extant in Mr. *Selden's* time ¹¹, who quotes the beginning of it, an ori-

¹ Hundred & scira dicunt quod, R. E. dedit, & habet sigillum regis.

Berroc-shire. Terra *Eccle. Abandoniensis*. Specfold. Abbas inde habet brevem & sigillum regis *Edw.* ibid. Terra *Henrici de Ferriers*, Ollavintone. Hanc terram dedit R. E. *Godrico de firma sua*, & inde viderunt *Sigillum* homines de Comitatu.

Gloucester-shire 59. Terra *Henrici de Ferriers*, Hoc testatur omnis comitatus, & ipse qui sigillum regis detulit.

Huntedon-shire 29. Terra *Tainorum* regis, ipsi vendiderunt *Hugoni Camerario* R. E. Hugo vero vendidit duobus presbyteris de *Huntedon*, & habent inde *Sigillum* R. E.

Ibidem *Cabelestain*,—nec unquam viderunt vel audierunt sigillum regis *Edwardi*, quod eam &c.

Sudfule. VI. Terra *Roberti Malet*—Rex *Edwardus* suavitur totam terram suam, postea conciliatus est regi *E.* concessit ei terram suam; dedit etiam

brevem & sigillum.

Ibidem xiv. Terra *S. Edmundi*—Antius—ex dono regis *Edw.* sicut brevia & sigillum demonstrant, quæ Abbas habet.

Dorset 19. Terra *Abbatie Sceptesberiensis*—*W.* rex eam facit resaisiri quia in ipsa ecclesia inventa est brevis cum sigillo reg. *Edw.* præcipiens ut restitueretur. So in *Consuetud. Domesday* in xx *Scriptor.* p. 775. *Lincoln.* Pax manu regis vel sigillo ejus data, & p. 777. Pax data manu regis vel suo brevi, &c.

² Manu nostra opposito signo roboravimus nostræque imaginis sigillo in super assignari jussimus.

³ C. 107. & seq. ⁴ Of ancient deeds, p. 236.

⁵ Hist. of Gavelkind, p. 72.

⁶ Formulæ Anglicanæ. n. 60. ⁷ P. 398.

⁸ Placita Parl. p. 286. ⁹ P. 263.

¹⁰ Vredii Sigill. Com. Flandr. p. 9. See Vaddere Orig. des Ducs de Brabant, p. 263, 264.

¹¹ Office of Lord Chancellor, c. 2.

ginal *Saxon* charter of king *Edgar* to the abbey of *Perfbore*; to which three labels were affixed with as many hanging seals; one of the king, the second of *St. Dunstan*, and the third of *Alfer*, duke of *Mercia*. As to the more ancient and ordinary way of sealing; the last cited writer observes, that there are among the *chartæ antiquæ* several with seals; particularly one of king *Canute*: and mentions two charters, the one of *Offa*, the other of *Edgar*, with seals annexed; the one of which he had seen cast off in lead, having a face on one side, and being of the breadth and thickness of a shilling. The first of these is probably the same which is taken notice of by *Felibien*, as still preserved among the records¹ of *St. Denis*, near *Paris*; being a charter of king *Offa* to that abbey, and sealed *annuli sui impressione*. The famous charter of the same king granting *Peter-pence*² to the church of *Rome* is said to be still remaining under seal; and that of king *Edwy*, dated *A. D.* 956, and conveying the land called *Jecklea*, in the *Isle of Ely*, was not only sealed with his own seal,³ but with that of *Ælfrinus*, bishop of *Winchester*. Upon the whole, it seems reasonable to conclude, that if *Ingulf* is not guilty of a mistake, his meaning at least was, that the putting of seals to instruments was not so absolutely necessary to their validity before, as it was after, the conquest; when the clause, *in cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui*, or other expressions of the like import, became so essential in law, that deeds have been adjudged invalid, purely on account of their omission; and the bare seal of the donor⁴ to a grant rendered it authentick without the signature of any witnesses.

Changes in
the state and
church made
by the con-
quest.

LII. THESE alterations were of little consequence, in comparison of the great changes which were made by the conquest, in the condition of the gentry and clergy; which in their consequences affected the state of the kingdom, and produced very unhappy innovations in religion. The *English* nobility and gentry were dispossessed of all their allodial lands and estates of inheritance; which were given away to the *Norman* and other foreign adventurers; the utmost favour allowed to any of the natives being to hold in vassalage of their new lords, on condition of rents and services, part of what they had enjoyed before as their own absolute property. The feudal law⁵ being likewise introduced and established in all its rigour, the nature of tenures was altered; the new proprietors became exposed to various hardships, payments, and forfeitures unknown before: and whilst reduced themselves to a state of more absolute dependance on the crown, they exercised an authority, of a like nature with the regal, over their inferior vassals and tenants; which proved a fertile occasion of civil wars and insurrections, destructive of the peace and welfare of the kingdom. The clergy among the *English Saxons* were generally men of quality; descended of the best and noblest families, and continued to be so, till the time of *Edgar*⁶; when others of meaner rank being sometimes admitted to holy orders, it was found necessary to provide by a canon against the contempt, with which the clergy of noble birth were apt to treat such inferior persons. They succeeded to the power which the *Pagan* priests had among the *Saxons* before their conversion to *Christianity*: and as these last sat and presided⁷ in the great councils of the nobility, as well in *Germany* as *England*, the *Christian* bishops and abbots were always constituent members of such assemblies. They were so in all parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Normandie*; where all the great councils are by the *Norman* historians constantly represented, as consisting of the

¹ *Hist. de l'Abbaie de St. Denis en Preuves*, n. 62.

² *Coke on Littleton*, c. 1. § 1. p. 7.

³ The words are, *Ego Edwinius, Dei gratia totius Britanniae telluris rex, meum donum proprio sigillo confirmavi: Ego Ælfrinus, Winton. ec-*

clesiae speculator proprium sigillum impressi.

⁴ *Br. Faif.* 76, 103.

⁵ See *Reliq. Spelman.*

⁶ *Canones sub Edgardo in Lambard. Archæionom.*

⁷ *Tacit. De mor. Germ. Bæde*, l. ii. c. 13.

prelates and barons. Hence no alteration was made in this respect, except in relation to their lands, which the prelates held before in *Frank-almaine*, subject to no service, besides the contributing to military expeditions, and the repairs of forts and bridges; but were afterwards obliged to hold by barony; and that the right of sitting in parliament, which was in the *Saxon* times common to all abbots, became, in the *Norman*, restrained to such as held by that tenure, and whose abbeyes or monasteries were of royal foundation. The *Saxon* clergy in general were married, as well secular as regular, till *Edgar's* reign; when the *Benedictine* rule being introduced, the married clergy that would not submit to it, and part with their wives, were expelled from all monasteries and collegiate churches. The secular clergy still retained theirs: and continued to do so for some time after the conquest; when the papal power beginning to take place in *England*, and in a short time bearing down all before it, they were obliged to quit them; notwithstanding the ancient usage of the *English* church, ¹ conformable in this point to the apostolical canons, "which ordered a bishop, priest, or deacon, turning off his wife on pretence of religion, to be suspended from communion; and if they persisted, to be deprived." This change was not brought about by the *Conqueror*, who doth not appear to have discountenanced the married clergy; since he employed *Robert*, afterwards bishop of *Lincoln* ², as his *chancellor*, who, during his enjoyment of that post, got his son *Simon*, dean of the same church: but was the work of *Henry I.*, who, in the thirtieth year of his reign, out of avaritious views and for political reasons, first prohibited ³ the marriage of the secular clergy. This was done in a great council or parliamentary assembly; but as that prince raised money by granting dispensations in this point, it was not generally observed for some time after; and in *Wales*, where this prohibition did not operate, the clergy continued to marry; till the discouragement, given to all that did not profess celibacy, came to be entirely removed by the reformation.

In the *Saxon* times a friendly correspondence was held between the *English* church and the *Roman*; so that messengers were sometimes sent hither from *Rome*, but without legatine powers, or at least none were exercised: and a great opinion was entertained of the efficacy of the Pope's blessing and anathemas; which induced monasteries to have their privileges fortified by such a sanction. But we find no instances of any appeals to *Rome*; except in the case of *Wilfrid*; when it was thought a ridiculous step, and the Pope's interposition and mandate rejected with indignation. The grant of the pall to the primates of *Canterbury*, was merely honorary; derived originally from the imperial power, and conveyed through the canal of the bishop of the imperial city. Nor do we meet with any other instance of such an interposition in the affairs of the church of *England*; besides what may be inferred from an epistle of Pope *Formosus*, pretended to be wrote in the time of king *Edmund*; which Mr. *Wharton* ⁴ hath proved to be spurious. The case was much altered after the conquest; when the papal authority, being called in to serve the *Conqueror's* political views, established itself upon the ruins of the liberties and independence of the church; oppressed the clergy and people with grievous exactions; evoked to a foreign judicature, causes which ever used to be determined within the realm; trampled on the ecclesiastical government; and encroached, upon all favourable occasions, on the royal authority, to the disturbance of all order and peace in the nation: and besides these evils, caused several unwarrantable innovations, as well in the offices of divine worship, as in the doctrines of religion.

¹ *Con. Ap.* 3, or 6.
p. 210, 554.

² *Angl. Sacr.* xi. 697.

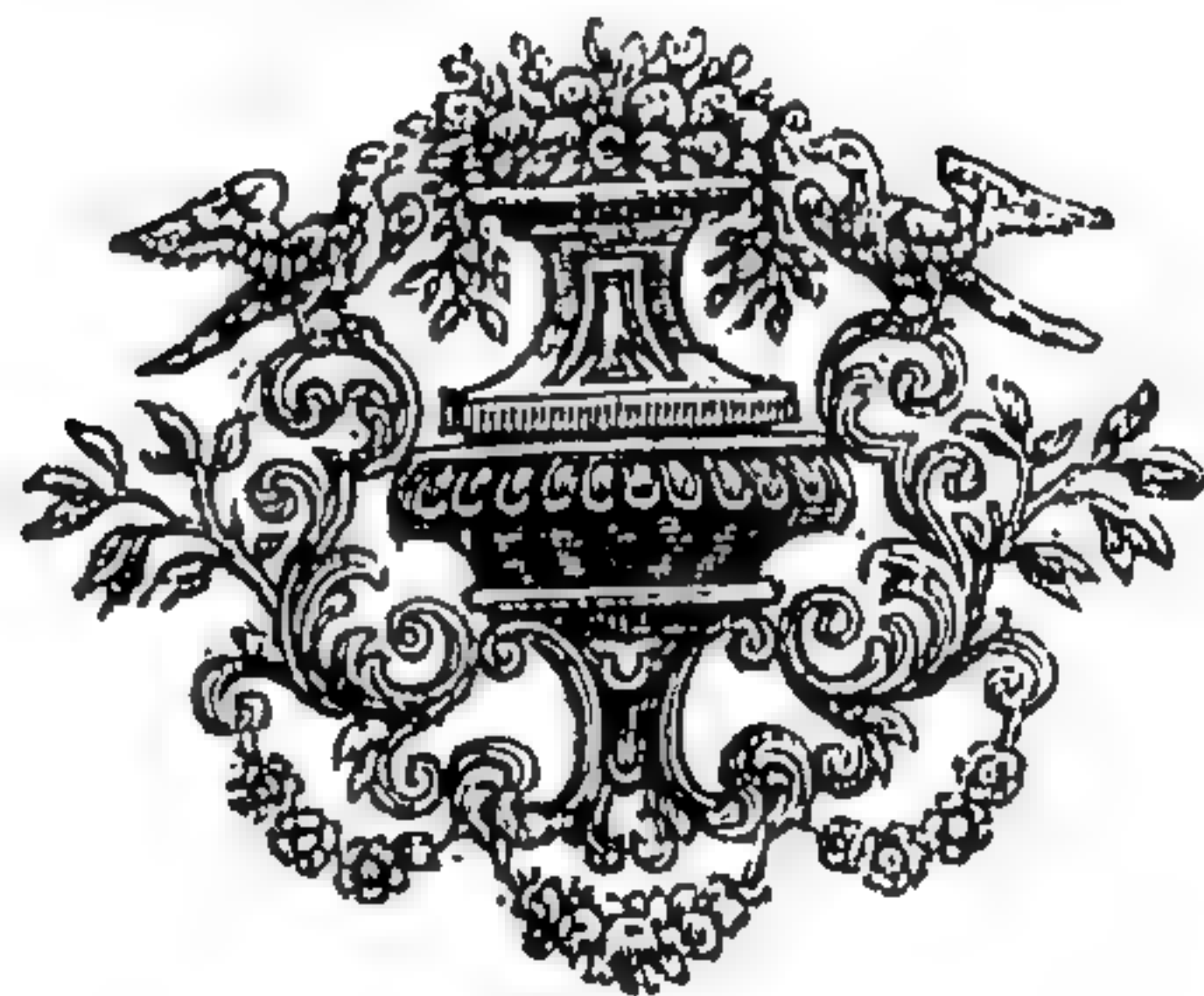
³ *Matth. Paris, A. D.* 1129.

⁴ *Angl. Sacr.* i.

SUCH were the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory; both grounded on pretended miracles and visions; the first of which served for a foundation to the adoration of the host, and to solitary masses; as the latter did to several corrupt and superstitious practices. Such were the prayers to saints, the worship of images, the adoration of the wood of the cross, and the denying of the cup in the eucharist to the laity, in consequence of the doctrine of concomitancy; a scholastic nicety, as well as novelty. With regard to all these, I am only to observe, that they are every one of them contrary to the doctrines and usages of the *English Saxon* church, as laid down in the *Saxon* homilies, or expressed in her offices for divine service; several of which are still preserved¹. The nearest approach to any of the practices here mentioned, observable in any of those offices, is, the desiring of God, in some collects, to grant their requests by the intercession and prayers, or through the merits, of the saint whose day is celebrated: and yet in others, prayers are made for the souls of those very saints, according the tenor of the liturgies of the church in the first ages of the gospel. The use likewise of holy water, and the blessing of inanimate things, in order to endow them with the virtues prayed for, are the only usages mentioned therein, which seem to border upon superstition. Such were the offices, and such the state, of the church of *England*, when it was first brought into an illegal subjection to the church of *Rome*, by the *Norman* conquest.

¹ Besides what we have in *England*, there is in the library of the chapter of *Rouen*, a *Benedictionale* of the church of *England*, given to it by *Robert* archbishop of *Canterbury*, about *A. D.* 1050: and in that of *Jumieges*, is a missal of the said church,

particularly used in the cathedral of *London*, given to the abbey by the same prelate, whilst he was bishop of that see. Both these I have had an opportunity of perusing, and have thence made the observations here mentioned.



A

GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

Containing an Account of the Affairs of ENGLAND,
for Eighty eight Years, from the *Norman Conquest*
to the Death of King *Stephen*.

I. **T**HE *Norwegians, Danes, Saxons*, and other northern nations, known by the general name of *Normans*, had begun, about the commencement of the ninth century, to cover the seas with their fleets, and to make descents on the coasts of the isles and continent, washed by the *German* and *western* oceans. The great rivers, the *Rhine*, the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*, afforded them convenient passages into the heart of *France*: which being distracted by the civil wars between the sons of *Louis le Debonnaire*, and weakened by the vast effusion of the blood of her nobles slain in the battle of *Fontenay*, was in a very unfit condition to oppose their ravages. Being enemies to the *Christian* religion, and perhaps particularly exasperated against the *French*, from whom many of these piratical adventurers had suffered in the time of *Charlemagne*, their fury fell upon every thing that was sacred, and they either burnt or destroyed what they could not carry off: but their chief view being plunder, they continued their depredations, without attempting any settlement in the country, till the time of *Rollo*. This prince, distinguished by his military skill above all the *Danish* chieftains, was lord of an independent territory in *Denmark*; which he inherited from his father, and had in his youth maintained with great bravery against all the power of the king of that country: who made war upon him in order to annex it to his other dominions, but was routed in several engagements. *Rollo*, invincible and superior to the *Danish* monarch in war¹, was over-reached in a treaty; and during the security of a peace, surprized by him in an ambuscade: his brother and almost all his men were cut in pieces; and he was himself forced to quit his territories, and take refuge in a quarter of *Scandinavia*. A great number of his old subjects, flocking thither to join him, resolved to run his fortune,

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1066.
Account of
the dukes of
Normandie
from *Rollo* to
William the
conqueror

¹ *Dudo De mor. Norman. p. 70.*

WILLIAM
J.
A. D. 1066.

he was for some time irresolute with regard to the party proper for him to take; whether he should attempt the recovery of his own dominions, or try, like other *Normans*, to enrich himself by depredations, and form a settlement for himself and his followers in some other country. A flattering dream, whether real or pretended, favourably¹ interpreted, determined him to take the latter party: and the noise of his design, perhaps of his dream, spread among a people ever ready to embark in such adventures, soon brought a great accession to his forces. A stature larger than ordinary, a majestic look, a certain dignity mixed with sweetness and affability in all his air and behaviour; the opinion generally entertained of his virtue, abilities, and talents for war; the relation of his great actions and his undeserved misfortunes, naturally engaged the respect, love, and esteem of the world: and such was his reputation in *Scandinavia*, that the bravest warriors of the north came from all parts to offer him their service; desirous to signalize their valour under so excellent a chieftain. The hopes of booty served them for pay: and a numerous fleet was soon equipped in a country which abounded with shipping.

WITH these views, and with a powerful army, *Rollo*, towards the latter end of the ninth century, entered the mouth of the *Seine*: and passing up the river, took *Rouen*; which he fortified and secured with a strong garrison. From thence he marched, as occasions offered, to the assistance of other *Norman* generals, who were laying *France* desolate: and having reduced *Neustria*, destroyed all the adjoining provinces with fire and sword for a long series of years; till *Charles the Simple*, by a treaty made *A. D.* 911, with the consent of the prelates and nobility of his realm, gave him his daughter *Gisele* in marriage, and with her all the country since called *Normandie*, to be held by him, and his heirs, of the crown of *France* by homage. *Rollo*, at his baptism, assumed the name of *Robert*: and having established an admirable order and police throughout his territories, the lands whereof he distributed among his officers and soldiers, died soon after; being succeeded by his only son *William*, who was, in *A. D.* 943, treacherously murdered in a conference at *Picquigny*, by *Arnulf* count of *Flanders*. The son and grandson of this *William* inherited his dominions in their order; being both named *Richard*: and the latter leaving two sons, was first succeeded by the elder, of the same name with himself, and after his death, by the younger, called *Robert II*, who died at *Nice* in *Bitthynia*, as he was returning from his pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. This last prince, before he set out for the holy land, had, in an assembly of the estates of *Normandie*, caused all the prelates and barons that composed it, to take an oath of fealty to his son *William*², then about nine years of age, as his successor; whose youth afforded reason enough for such a precaution. It appeared the more necessary, because³ *William's* mother, *Herleva*, was the daughter of *Foubert*, the duke's *valet de chambre*, and son of a tanner of *Falaise*; a very unequal match for *Robert*; though he was not at that time invested with the ducal dignity: and such misalliances were in those days reputed so dishonourable, that a wife of ignoble birth, however lawfully wedded, passed for nothing better than a concubine, and the issue she had by her husband for little more than bastards.

DURING the minority of this young prince, *Normandie* was a terrible scene of disorders, of civil broils between the great lords, who fought out their quarrels in the field, and of insurrections, raised by different pretenders to the succession of the duchy: and till the signal victory he gained at *Val des Dunes*, over *Guy de Bourgogne* count of *Brionne*, the counts of *Bayeux* and *Contances*, *Hamon* of *Thorigny*, and other *Norman* lords, in *A. D.* 1046; there was scarce a year passed, but he was

¹ *Gulielm. Gemeticensis in Ep. ad Guil. Conq.* thinks it only a pretended dream, and therefore left it out of his history. See *MS. St. Victor. Paris. non interpolat.* ² *Fragment Will. Conq. in Walsingham, p. 30.*
Du Tillet Recueil des Grands de France, p. 137.

in danger of losing his dominions. He was afterwards attacked by the king of *France*, and the counts of *Flanders*, *Anjou*, and *Ponthieu*; who encouraging the discontents of the turbulent barons of *Normandie*, seized the opportunities, which their mutinous spirit and measures offered, for invading the country: but *William*, by an uncommon vigilance, courage, prudence, and activity, baffled the attempts of his enemies, and extricated himself out of all his difficulties. From the time that he was seventeen years of age, he marched constantly at the head of his armies, and presided in all councils; distinguishing himself by his valour and judgment on all occasions: and if fortune may claim a share in his happy escapes from the plots of assassins, his success in other cases was undoubtedly owing to his military skill, to the vigour of his measures, the firmness of his mind, and the wisdom of his conduct. Bad intellects and weak minds depend continually on the direction of others, and derive from lucky accidents what share of felicity they enjoy: but great men make their own fortune, and *William* himself was evidently the author of all the grandeur he attained. Ever prudent in the choice of his measures, ever successful in all his enterprizes, ever wise in the good use he made of every success, he was esteemed, and either loved, or dreaded by all his neighbours: and this general esteem, with the great reputation he bore in the world, had as large a share in his designation to the crown of *England*, as his relation to *Edward the Confessor*, or this prince's gratitude for the favours he had received in *Normandie*. It would otherwise have scarce been practicable for *Edward*, a weak prince, to draw the *English* nobility into such a measure, and to have engaged *Harold* to undertake an embassy, as well to notify the intended succession, as to take an oath of fealty to *William* in his own person; which is expressly said to have been his chief¹ business in that embassy: wherein he probably acted as representative of the body of the *English* nobility, of which he was the principal; that ceremony being an usual practice in those days, as well in *France*² and other foreign countries, as among the *English Saxons*, whenever a successor to the crown was appointed³. It was in this manner that *Egferth*, the son of *Offa*, king of *Mercia*, *Robert*, *Henry I*, and *Philip I*, kings of *France*, and *William II*, duke of *Normandie*, were recognized in assemblies of the estates of those countries, when the princes their fathers declared them their successors.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1066.

II. *EDWARD the Confessor* had been dead ten days, when the duke of *Normandie* received advice of his decease, and of *Harold's* usurpation. Had *Edgar Atheling*, the right lineal heir of the royal family, been set upon the throne of *England*, *William* would probably have acquiesced in that event; at least he would have wanted a plausible pretence for an invasion, and would have scarce found friends and supporters enough to abet his claim, and assist him in an enterprize manifestly unjust. But he could not bear the thoughts of being deluded and insulted by *Harold*; who had so lately done him homage, and sworn in the solemnest manner upon the holiest relicks to secure him the succession: hence the news of the latter's advancement filled him with the keenest resentment, and he instantly vowed revenge. The conquest of *England* seemed at first sight an enterprize too hardy for a duke of *Normandie* to undertake, and much above all the force which his dominions could furnish to execute: but there were several circumstances, as well in the situation of affairs on the continent, as in the condition of this island, that

William
makes pre-
parations to
invade Eng-
land.

¹ Guil. Gemet. l. vi. c. 31. p. 200.

² Guil. Pictav.

³ M. de Masséville, *Histoire de Normandie*, part i. p. 185, says, that all the *English* lords in the general council, where the duke of *Normandie* was declared the successor, took an oath, that they would,

after *Edward's* death, receive him for their king; and *Harold* was sent to take the said oath in *Normandie*. So the author of the *Inventaire de l'Histoire de Normandie*, p. 65, says, *William* was declared *Edward's* successor in an assembly of the estates of *England*.

WILLIAM

I.

A. D. 1066.

conspired to encourage him in the undertaking, and to flatter him with hopes of success. He had married *Maude*, daughter of *Baldwin V*, count of *Flanders*; and his father-in-law being guardian of *Philip* king of *France*, a child about twelve years of age, he had no reason to apprehend any disturbance from a country; which alone could attack him with a superior power, but which thought itself happy enough, to preserve her own peace during a minority. He was in peace and in terms of friendship with all his neighbours, except *Conan* count of *Bretagne*; and the seasonable death of this prince not onely freed him from all inquietude on that side, but made way likewise for the assistance which he received from his successor. The kingdoms, which had been erected in *Italy* by some of his *Norman* subjects, enabled them to engage the court of *Rome* in his interest; they being strenuous asserters of the *papal* claims, and always ready to support the papacy against the attempts of the *German* emperors, whose rights the *Popes* were invading upon all occasions. The *Normans* were in the height of their glory for military prowess: and had distinguished themselves above all other nations by their great actions, in an age of adventures that would now pass for romantic, and at a time, when private men had in various parts of the world subdued countries, and advanced themselves to royalty, merely by their valour. The peace which then reigned in *Normandie*; the personal merit and character of the duke; the good order he had established throughout his dominions; and the magnificence of his court, had occasioned a vast resort thither, from *France*, *Burgundy*, and all parts of *Europe*, of the chief nobility and the bravest spirits in those countries, all eager to embark in adventures, and to signalize their valour in his service. These, either out of affection to his person, or indignation at the affront offered him by *Harold*, or in hopes of the lands and honours which they expected, in case of success, for their recompence, in *England*, readily offered to bring to his assistance great numbers of experienced warriors, who had served formerly under their banners: and these succours, joined to his old *Norman* soldiers, whom the civil wars and foreign invasions of their country had inured to all the hardships, and perfected in all the discipline, of war, seemed an overmatch for any body of troops that could be drawn together to make head against him in *England*.

THIS nation indeed was in a very ill condition to oppose so formidable an enemy. *England* was an open country, so destitute of fortifications, that except *Dover*, castle, *London*, and two or three towns more, there was not a place in it able to stand a siege; so that whoever was master of the field, was in effect master of the kingdom. The people softened by a long peace, which had lasted fifty years without any interruption, were unfit to undergo the fatigues of war, knew nothing of the use of arms, and understood little of military discipline: they were still more enervated by the vices which prevailed among them, by idleness, intemperance, and debauchery. The nobility and gentry minded nothing but eating and drinking; being over-run with luxury, and utterly regardless of the publick good; corrupt and venal in all their conduct; and divided into parties, as best suited their private interests; to which they were entirely devoted. The clergy themselves were not exempt from these vices: with which our old historians represent all orders of men to be infected, and to this general corruption ascribe their ruin; it being impracticable for a nation, without virtue, without publick spirit, without union, ever to defend its liberties. The crown, which should have rectified all these disorders, was itself the fountain of more; being possessed by an usurper: who had seized it by force; and having no natural right to the allegiance of the subject, endeavoured to supply that defect by bribery and terror, the chief instruments used by all tyrannical governments to keep a people in subjection. The prelates and clergy had a mighty influence in the nation; and though *Harold* had courted them after his ac-

cession

cession by restoring some of the church lands, which he had before seized unjustly : WILLIAM I. A. D. 1066. yet as his conduct was unequal in that point, they still remembered his former oppressions, and suspected the sincerity of his professions. They were likewise extremely shocked at his perjury in mounting the throne, after he had sworn fealty to another : most of the bishops, being natives of *Normandie, Brabant, Flanders*, and *France*, were naturally inclined to favour the cause of *William*. The case was much the same with regard to a great part of the nobility ; who being descended of *Danish* race, wished to have a *Norman* of the same race upon the throne. *Ralph*, earl of the *East-Angles*, the earl of *Hereford*, and some others that enjoyed the like dignity, or very great power, as *Fitz Scrobi* in *Salop*, *Ralf Peverell* in *Essex*, *Danbin de Bear*, &c. were actually *Normans* : and none of these, however naturalized they were to this country, and whatever advantages they enjoyed in it, could not yet forget their own original so far, as not to wish success to the enterprize of the duke of *Normandie*. *Harold* seems to have been apprehensive of some danger from these foreigners : and had, by way of precaution, taken care to banish all the *Norman* gentlemen, whom *Edward* had brought over and enriched with castles and large estates. Many of them had intermarried with the *English* : and yet they were expelled, together with their wives, children, and relations, out of *England*. It was probably thought too dangerous in such a juncture to treat the chief nobility of that nation, settled here in governments which enabled them to stand on their defence, in the same manner : but though they were suffered still to retain their power, they could not but think their ruin was only postponed to a more favourable opportunity, and that they should soon undergo the common fate of their countrymen. Whether it was to concert measures with these noblemen, to draw over to his party, others who had suffered indignities from *Harold*, or were discontented at his elevation ; or else in hopes of bringing the usurper to a reasonable composition, if not to a resignation of his crown, *William* sent over embassadors to put him in mind of his oath and the stipulations between them ; to insist upon their being observed ; and on failure thereof, to threaten him with an invasion. *Harold*, grown insolent by the possession of a potent kingdom, laughed at the menaces, demands, and proposals made him ; refused to make the least satisfaction for his breach of faith : and ² rejected all terms of accommodation with a contempt ; which inflamed the *Norman's* resentment, and caused him to lay aside all thoughts but those of revenge.

WILLIAM, determined to invade *England*, applied to all the princes his neighbours for succours : and generally did it with more success than he had reason to expect. His old enemy *Geffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, sent a good number of forces to his assistance ; *Guy*, count of *Ponthieu*, followed his example ; *Eustace*, count of *Boulogne*, and the *Vicomte de Thouars* in *Poitou* resolved to go in person at the head of their vassals : and *Howel*, count of *Bretagne*, levying a body of five thousand men, as well horse as foot, sent them under the command of his eldest son *Alan Fergant*, attended by the *Vicomtes* of *Leon* and *Dinam*, and other noble *Bretons*, to serve in the expedition. The emperor *Henry IV*, and *Philip I*, king of *France*, were minors : but the imperial council, by a publick proclamation, allowed all the vassals of the empire to enter into the duke of *Normandie's* service. *William*, being a vassal of the crown of *France*, expected more powerful succours from thence, than from any other quarter : but was greatly disappointed, when waiting upon the king with offers of holding *England* also of him in vassalage, in case he succeeded in his attempt upon that country, and being referred to the council of regency, he was either ordered, or advised to desist from the enterprize.

¹ *Wace's Hist. MS. penes me*, p. 462.

² *Ib.* p. 463.

WILLIAM I. The reasons which influenced the council to this resolution were, "that the duke
 A. D. 1066. " of *Normandie* was already too potent for a vassal, and performed the services due
 " from him, as such, only when, and in what manner he pleased; that if he added
 " *England* to his other dominions, he would be an overmatch for the crown, and
 " would have it in his power to distress *France*, and disturb its peace; and that it
 " was not consistent with prudence to provoke the *English*, in order to aggrandize a
 " race of *Norman* princes, whose increase of power would swell their pride, and
 " render them dangerous, as well as eternal, enemies to the *French* monarchy."
 These reasons however did not hinder *Baldwin*, who was at the head of the re-
 gency and guardian of the king's person, from giving underhand encouragement
 to the *French* nobility to assist his son-in-law: and he used the like instances in his
 behalf with his own subjects in *Flanders*, in the same private manner. But no as-
 sistance was of greater consequence to *William*, than the Pope's declaration in his
 favour. *Rome* was in those days the chief seat of learning in *Europe*, and thither
 applications were generally made in material cases, for the resolving of any doubts
 relating to conscience: which was particularly affected, whenever the obligations
 and breaches of oaths, matters deemed of ecclesiastical cognizance, came in question.
 Pope *Alexander* II, full of hopes, and glad of an opportunity, to extend the papal
 jurisdiction into a country, where it had not been yet established, received the arch-
 deacon of *Lisieux*, *William's* ambassador, with open arms: and readily granted all
 that he solicited in his master's behalf. *Harold* was denounced a perjured usurper;
 a ring with one of *St. Peter's* hairs in it, and a consecrated banner, were sent to
William, to hallow his enterprize. Bulls were published to declare the justice of his
 cause, and to animate all the world to assist in putting him upon the throne of
England. This declaration had a great effect, not only on the *English* prelates,
 who knew that *Harold* deserved the censure passed upon him, but likewise on
 abundance of brave men in all parts of *Europe*; who eager to signalize their va-
 lour, and now fully satisfied of the justice of *William's* cause, flocked from all
 quarters to range themselves under his ensigns, and to acquire either glory, ho-
 nours, or rewards, by serving under the command of so experienced and eminent
 a general.

WILLIAM had such numbers of these offering him their service, that he picked
 and chose out of them such as he found most inured to the hardships, and versed
 in the arts of war; till he made up an army of sixty thousand men, composed of
 the best soldiers of the age: which he judged superior to any force, that could be
 brought into the field by his rival. The hopes of rewards and settlements in *Eng-
 land* supplied the want of pay to his troops: but money was necessary to provide
 ships for their transportation, and provisions for their subsistence. This he ex-
 pected from the estates of *Normandie*: and having summoned the prelates and
 barons to meet in a general council at *L'Isle-bonne*, proposed to them his design;
 pressing them to join in revenging the affront he had received from *Harold*; and to
 grant him the necessary supplies for an enterprize, which he was obliged in ho-
 nour to undertake, and the success whereof would redound infinitely to their glory.
 The nobility that composed the assembly were much divided in their sentiments;
 some appearing zealous for complying with the duke's request, whilst others ex-
 claimed against the undertaking as rash and impracticable; considering that *Nor-
 mandie* was, in its best state, far inferior to *England*, in wealth, force, and number of
 people, and was then so extremely harrassed and impoverished by its late wars, that
 it was in no condition to bear the expence of armaments for foreign conquests.
William, seeing where the difficulty lay, sent for the richest persons of the province,

¹ *Wace*, p. 472.

² *Ib.* p. 476.

and talking to them privately, and apart from each other, persuaded them to advance considerable sums: and the example being once set, was readily followed by others; who did not care to be marked out, as less concerned for the duke's honour, or less cordial in promoting his service. The affair was hereupon resumed in the great council; and though many appeared averse to it, was carried at last by a wile of *William Fitz-Osborne*, count of *Breteuil*, and constable of *Normandie*. This nobleman, in a speech¹ he made to the assembly, had declared strongly against the invasion of *England*: and maintained it to be a privilege of the *Normans*, that though they were obliged to contribute to the defence of their own country, they were not obliged by their tenures to serve in foreign expeditions. This ingratiated him so with the opposers of the enterprize, that they agreed to make him their spokesman, to represent to the duke their sentiments on the subject: but they were strangely surprized, when instead of urging the reasons, which he had before alleged against the expedition, they heard him declare, in their name, the utmost readiness to embark in it, and such a zeal for vindicating their prince's honour, that they were all resolved to assist him therein, with double the service they were bound to by their tenures, and used to do upon other occasions. This was immediately applauded by *Odo* bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* count of *Mortain* (*William's* brothers by the mother's side) by the count of *Longueville*, and other principal noblemen; who readily subscribed for a number of ships and men in that proportion. Many of the others who had been the most averse to the enterprize, were so disconcerted by the count's assurances in their behalf, or so ashamed to contradict him, that they followed the example set them: but there was still a good deal of confusion and clamour in the assembly; till the duke assuring them, that it should never be made a precedent to draw them into any future inconveniencies, but their services should remain fixed at the rate anciently used, they all agreed at last to furnish ships and men, for this once, in a duplicate proportion. The abbeyes furnished money, as well as men; as *Ingulf* observes in the instance of that *St. Wandrille*, whereof he was prior.

WILLIAM
I.
A.D. 1066.

III. THE hopes of honours, and of making a fortune in *England*, now took place of all other considerations; every one was desirous to recommend himself to the duke's favour, and used the utmost application to provide and mann the ships, for which he had engaged: and a fleet of about eight hundred large vessels², besides three thousand smaller of all sorts, was fitted out in a less time than could be expected. Its rendezvous was appointed at *St. Pierre sur Dive*; where the army embarked: and though it was detained there a month by contrary winds, yet in all that time no disorder was committed in the country; the troops being, by the duke's care, well supplied with all necessaries, and kept in exact discipline. From thence it proceeded to *St. Valery*, at the mouth of the *Somme*; where it was likewise detained so long, that the soldiers began to imagine, providence did not favour the enterprize, and that it would miscarry like that of duke *Robert II*; who was hindered, by contrary winds, from making in *Canute's* time the descent he proposed in *England*. At last, on the eve of *St. Michael*, the tutelar saint of *Normandie*, the wind proving favourable, the fleet set sail: and *William* landed, without any opposition, the next day, at *Pevensey* in *Sussex*; having lost in his passage only two small vessels that were overladen.

William invades England.

William landed in England.

The debarkation being made with as much order and precaution, as if the enemy had been in view, ³ *William* quitted his ship: and as he advanced to the shore, sinking too deep in the mud, fell on his hands; which some of his soldiers

¹ *Chron. Norman.*

² *Hacc*, p. 477. *Gul. Pictav.* p. 197.

³ *Hacc*, p. 481.

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taking for a bad omen, he cried out immediately, like *Cæsar* upon the same mischance at his landing in *Africa*, “ ’Tis thus I take possession of the country.” To humour this notion, one of his followers, running to an house near the place, plucked off some of the thatch: and bringing it to him, delivered it into his hands, to give him, as he said, seisin of *England*. From thence he marched to *Hastings*; where he caused his ships to be drawn on shore, and put upon stocks, to deprive his men of all hopes of escaping by flight, or of saving themselves but by victory; and erected forts¹ for their security. He gave strict orders, that they should not burn the country, nor plunder the inhabitants; alledging that it was hurting themselves to destroy what would soon be their own: but the true reason probably was his apprehension of a want of provisions; those which had been put aboard the fleet, having been almost consumed during his lying windbound at *St. Valery*². This too might occasion his staying in the neighbourhood of *Hastings* fifteen days; which he employed in gathering victuals, and discovering the country. During his stay there³, *Robert*, a *Norman* baron, son of an *English* lady named *Guimara*, settled in those parts, sent him an account of *Harold's* victory over the king of *Norway*, and return from the north to *London*; advising the duke not to venture a battle with such a numerous army of brave men as the usurper was bringing against him, but to intrench himself as strongly as he could in his camp at *Hastings*. *William* was too judicious and intrepid to follow such timorous advice: and returned for answer, “ that he was come into *England* to seek his enemy; that he had a just confidence in the valour of his troops, and did not doubt of having his revenge on *Harold*; even though he had but ten thousand, instead of sixty thousand soldiers or more, that he had brought with him into the kingdom.”

HAROLD on³ his part was full as confident, and did not question driving the *Normans* into the sea: but was persuaded by the lords of his council, before he tried the fate of a battle, to send a message to the duke with the offer, if he would quit the land quietly, of a large sum of money, to defray the charges of his expedition. *William* received it with contempt: and replying, “ that he was come over, not for any of his coin, but to take possession of the kingdom, which the other had in violation of his oath usurped; and that nothing less than the whole of it would satisfy him;” *Harold* prepared to march against him; resolving to run the hazard of an engagement. *Gurth*, brother to the usurper, a nobleman of great wisdom and valour, dissuaded this step as too rash: and thought it more advisable for *Harold* to waste the country,⁴ and carry off all the provisions it afforded; whilst he, who had taken no oath to the duke, and had not merited the divine wrath by the sin of perjury, advanced against the *Normans* with an army, to keep them from roving about in quest of victuals; or to fight them, if a favourable occasion offered. All the *English* nobility approved of this advice; which *Harold*, fated to destruction, rejected with indignation: nor could he be prevailed with to wait the arrival of the forces, which were coming up from different counties to join him; but erecting his standard, marched hastily to a place, then called *Senlac*, where *Battle Abbey* was afterwards founded by the conqueror.

THIS unadvised conduct of his was in a great measure owing to the vanity, arrogance, and presumption of his own heart: he fancied himself, after his late success, to be invincible; and looking upon a victory as certain, seemed only apprehensive lest the *Normans* should rob him of the glory of it by a precipitate retreat. What flattered this notion in him, was some advices which he received from *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*; whom he considered as his friend, and probably ascribed to his influence the resolution taken by the council of *France*, not to assist the

¹ *Gul. Pictav.* p. 199.² *Wacc.* p. 482.³ *Wacc.* p. 487, 488, 489.⁴ *Ib.* p. 490.

duke of *Normandie* in his enterprize. *Baldwin*, by the answer which he gave to the envoys of his son-in-law, who desired his assistance, appears to have been selfish: and might perhaps have touched some of that money which, the *Norman* historians say, *Harold* distributed so plentifully in all the courts of princes in the neighbourhood of *Normandie*. Whatever was the ground of the usurper's confidence in that prince, he seems to have depended upon him for intelligence: and though he had spies in *William's* country to discover what was there doing, yet those venal intelligencers, either flattering him with such accounts as they imagined would be agreeable, or not having the same credit with him as *Baldwin* had, he certainly adjusted his measures according to the advices he received from the latter. He had fitted out a fleet of seven hundred sail to encounter *William* at sea, and had raised a great army to oppose his landing; he had kept the one hovering about the *Isle of Wight*, and the other posted on the neighbouring coast all the summer: but about *September* 8, had suffered both to quit their stations, and disperse for want of provisions; upon receiving advice from *Baldwin*¹, that the duke, finding the season for action too far advanced, had laid aside his design of an invasion for that year; advice, which the long delay of the *Norman* fleet's sailing, and the near approach of winter, conspired to render credible. *Harold*, surprized in his false security by the news of a landing, still credited other intelligence, given him by the count of *Flanders*, and representing *William's* forces to be much fewer in number than they really were: and this account was the easier swallowed, because it struck in with his wishes, and seemed countenanced by the *Normans* fortifying *Hastings*, and staying there so long without advancing further into the country; which otherwise seemed unaccountable.

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IV. CONTEMPTIBLE as the enemy appeared in *Harold's* imagination, he yet took his precautions when he came to *Battel*; ² encamping on an hill, which he enclosed on all sides with a large ditch, leaving only three passages to his camp open; and the *English* lying all night on their arms, for fear of being surprized by the *Normans*. In the morning, at break of day, *Harold* and *Gurth* mounting their horses, went unattended to take a view of the enemies camp, and to observe their disposition; advancing to a convenient eminence near enough to discover the good order that reigned among them, the glittering of their armour, and the great number of their cavalry. *Harold*, from this view, judged them to be much more numerous than he had been informed; and returning to his camp, proposed a retreat to *London*, in order to increase his forces: but was told by *Gurth*, with some warmth, "that he ought not to have quitted that place, contrary to the advice of his nobility³, before all his troops were assembled; that it was too late to repent his rashness in advancing so far; his honour was now engaged, and he must either conquer, or be ruined; that to retire a step without fighting, would look like cowardice, be interpreted as a flight, and attended with the loss of his reputation; that to attempt a *retreat*, in the sight of an enemy, would endanger his whole army, would animate the *Norman* troops, and so discourage his own, that they would certainly desert him, and he would never be able to get them together again."

The battle
of *Hastings*.

HAROLD, piqued at reasons which attacked equally his prudence and his courage, resolved to stand his ground: but being desirous to know the just number and condition of the enemy, sent two spies into the *Norman* camp to get him intelligence. They were soon discovered, seized, and brought before *William*: who understanding their business, ordered them to be carried all over his camp, for making what ob-

¹ *Ib.* p. 531, 532.

² *Wace*, p. 491.

³ *Ib.* p. 493—506.

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servations they pleased; to be entertained plentifully; and dismissed in safety. Upon their return to *Harold*, they spoke of the duke with great encomiums: but seemed to despise his soldiers, because they looked like massé-priests; being all shaved, even on the upper lip; whereas the *English*, at that time, wore whiskers. *William*¹, after this act of magnanimity, willing to prevent the effusion of blood unnecessarily, sent *Hugh Margot*, a monk of *Fescamp*, to offer the usurper his choice of three parties, either to resign the crown quietly, or refer their dispute to the Pope's judgment, or else to fight a duel, and the kingdom to be the prize of the conqueror. *Harold* refusing them all, *William*, at the instance of his barons, who were impatient till they came to an action, and were apprehensive that the *English* would be reinforced daily, particularly by the *Londoners*², resolved to try another experiment for an accommodation, by offering all the provinces of *England*, north of the *Humber*, to *Harold*, and earl *Godwin's* patrimony to *Gurth*; and in case of a refusal, to denounce the first a perjured liar, to declare all that fought on his side excommunicated by the Pope, and to challenge them to a general engagement. He thought to do this, not by message, but in a personal treaty: and mounting on horseback, with twenty others, followed by an hundred more, and these at some distance, by a party of a thousand cavaliers, advanced towards the *English* camp, and proposed a parley. *Harold* was not fond of meeting the prince, to whom he had sworn fealty, and who would probably upbraid him with his perjury: and sent *Gurth* to receive the proposals. These were reported to *Harold* in a council of all the *English* nobility in his army; who were much struck with the dread of an excommunication: and being desirous to avoid incurring it by a battle, pressed very earnestly for an accommodation. But *Gurth* alarming them with the loss of their lands and honours, which *William* had already granted away to his foreigners; and *Harold* promising them grants of larger estates to reward their valour; it was agreed to reject the proposals, and to accept the battle for the day³ following, *October 14*; which he imagined would prove fortunate to him, it being his birth-day.

ALL thoughts of peace being laid aside, both armies prepared for a combat, which was to decide the fate of *England*: but passed the precedent night in a different manner⁴; the *English*, in jollity, drinking, and revelling, to warm their courage; the *Normans* in prayers, confession, and other religious exercises, to obtain the divine blessing, on which they depended for victory. *Harold*,⁵ far inferior to the enemy in the number of his forces, resolved not to lose his advantage in the ground: and drew up his men in a column on the decline of the hill, a ditch and line of hurdles before them; ordering them to keep close together, and cautioning them above all things against breaking, which would be their ruin; the⁶ *Normans* being so good cavaliers, that if they once pierced their ranks, they would make a terrible havock among them by their lances, against which a short battle-axe would prove but a very sorry defence. The *Kentish* men were placed in the van, a post of honour which they claimed as their right by ancient usage: which assigned likewise that of guarding the king's person, and defending the royal standard, to the *Londoners*. The *Normans* advanced against them in three bodies: the first composed of the troops of *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, *le Maine*, and *Perche*, led by *Alan Fergant*, the count of *Breteil*, and *Roger de Montgomery*; the second of *Poictovins* and *Germans*, under the command of *Charles Martel*, and a German prince; the third and strongest, consisting of the bravest troops of *Normandy*, headed by the duke himself; who took care to line the wings of these corps with archers.

¹ *Ib.* and *Du Moulin. Hist. de Normandie*, l. vii. c. 11. ² *Chr. Hist.* ³ *Gal. Pictav.* p. 221.
Wace, p. 530. ⁴ *Ib.* ⁵ *Ib.* p. p. 524, 525. ⁶ *Ib.* p. 523.

THE *Normans*, marching with the Pope's banner at their head, in good order and close array, to begin the attack on three sides at once; *Taillefer*¹, a gallant old soldier, advanced before the rest: and sung, according to custom, the famous song of *Roland* and the heroes that fell at *Roncevaux*, to rouse the valour of his countrymen. To animate them further by his own example, having the duke's leave to give the first stroke in the battle, he rushed on to begin the charge, running an ensign through with his lance, and killing another with his sword: but before he could dispatch a third, was slain himself. The *English*, well ferred together, stood the shock with great firmness; being in every part impenetrable, and doing such execution upon the enemy with their javelins, that the *Bretons* in the left wing, giving way, were pushed into some covered ditches, which they had passed by unobserved: and the other corps being seized with a sudden pannick on a report or notion that the duke was slain, were on the point of flying; when *William*, hearing of the disorder, marched in haste from the right wing to their assistance; and shewing them their mistake, rallied his men, and led them on again to the combat. To wise men all events are lucky, whilst fools are often ruined by success; as appeared remarkably on this occasion, the disaster of the left wing proving the occasion of the *Normans* victory. The *English*, full of vanity and presumption, as well as valour, upon seeing the *Bretons* retire, quitted their advantage of ground, and pursued them eagerly into the plain: they had no horse, nor were their arms a proper defence against them; so that *William* bringing a body of *Norman* cavalry from his right wing, easily intercepted the retreat of two or three thousand of the most advanced, being *Kentish* and *Essex* men, and put them all to the sword. He then renewed the general attack against the *English* that had kept their posts on the hill; but was received with the same intrepidity as before: his troops were repulsed in all places; and in despair of prevailing by open force, he was obliged to have recourse to a stratagem, which the late disaster suggested. He caused his men to retreat on a sudden from all their attacks, and to feign a flight; which the *English* fondly imagining to be real, pursued them again into the plain, with as much fury and as little caution as before: till the *Normans* facing about, and their horse surrounding them, the rash pursuers were cut down in great numbers, the rest recovering the hill with difficulty; where they still maintained their ground, impenetrable by all the force of the enemy.

THE *Normans* finding all their attacks in vain, repeated their former stratagem; and what is really astonishing, did it with the same success. The *English*, never to be made wise by any experience, whenever their vanity and fighting humour are flattered, had already forgot what they had so lately suffered by quitting their posts, contrary to *Harold's* orders, and following the enemy into the plain: and falling again into the same snare, were trodden down by the *Norman* horse, and slaughtered in great numbers. Weakened much by these repeated losses, they still stood their ground on the hill unbroken for some time; till *William*, observing that the *English* covering their bodies with their shields, were thereby secured against the direct stroke of the *Norman* arrows, ordered his archers to shoot them in the air so that they might wound obliquely in their descent. This had all the effect he proposed: and whilst the foremost of the *English* were fighting hand to hand with the bravest of the *Normans*, those behind were galled, and their ranks continually thinning, by the shot which showered down upon them from a more distant enemy, against whom they had no defence. *Harold*, whose activity and bravery in this battle are much celebrated by all writers, was, toward the close of the day, killed by one of those falling arrows, which entering at the eye, pierced his brain: and

¹ *Ib.* 534.

WILLIAM with him fell the hopes, if not the courage, of the *English*. His valiant brothers
 I. *Gurth* and *Leofwine* still animated them to stand their ground, keeping about the
 A. D. 1066. royal standard, till they fell under the desperate efforts of twenty resolute *Normans*; who swore to one another, either to take it, or die in the attempt. Most of them perished in it; but the rest carried their point; *Harold's* standard being pulled down¹, and the duke's erected in its stead: upon which the *English* retired from all parts of the hill, and were hotly pursued by the enemy, even after night commenced. The darkness, favourable to the retreat of the *English*, that knew the country, had like to have proved fatal to the *Normans*, who pursued them through deep and watery valleys full of ditches; into which they fell man and horse in great numbers. This re-animating the courage of the vanquished, they rallied, fell upon their pursuers, and made a terrible slaughter among them; *Engenouf*, baron de l'*Aigle*, falling among the rest: and the action was so hot, that *Eustace*, count of *Boulogne*, was for founding a retreat; when *William*, imagining that some new reinforcement had joined the *English*, came up in person to his succour. *Eustace* would fain have persuaded him to retire, without exposing himself to the hazards of a night engagement; and was whispering to him this advice, when he received a blow between the shoulders, which forced blood from his nose and mouth: but the duke, resolving not to leave his victory imperfect, still pressed on against the enemy, till he had driven them from all their ditches, and dispersed them entirely.

SUCH was the issue of this famous battle; which decided the fate of *England*, and having lasted from nine in the morning till night, was won by *William* with great danger to himself (having had two horses killed under him, and been forced to charge sometimes on foot) and with the loss of fifteen thousand of the best troops of his army². The number of the *English* slain in it is uncertain; and in all probability it did not much exceed that of the *Normans*, considering that their forces were much inferior to the others in number³, and that they were favoured by the night in their retreat: but they had an irreparable loss in the destruction of the flower of their nobility. *William*, returning about midnight to the field of battle, pitched his tent among the dead; where *Harold's* corpse being brought, mangled in the thigh, after he was dead, by a soldier, he ordered the man to be degraded, stripped of his arms, and turned out of his army, for so mean and detestable an act of inhumanity. He shewed the like magnanimity in refusing the great sums of money that *Harold's* mother offered for the corpse; which he had at first directed *W. Malet* to bury on the sea-shore: but on this application, having ordered it to be given her freely, it was interred in the church of *Waltham-Cross* with great solemnity. The publick and honourable manner of *Harold's* interment in that abbey, whereof he was the founder, did not hinder the common people of *England* from believing an idle report current among them, of his living many years after in a religious retreat near *Chester*; so apt are they to swallow the absurdest stories that can be invented, if they flatter in any respect their wishes, passions, or prejudices.

His march to
 London.

V. WILLIAM staid a few days at *Hastings* to refresh his troops: and then leaving a garrison in the place, marched to *Rumney*; which he sacked, in revenge for the ill treatment that the crew of a ship, separated from the rest of his fleet, had received from the inhabitants. From thence he advanced to *Dover*: and received both the town and castle by composition. Whilst the treaty was carrying on, the *Normans*

¹ This standard had on it the picture of a man fighting, and being enriched with gold and precious stones to a very great value, was sent by *William*, after his victory, as a present to the Pope.

² *Guil. Gemet.* l. vii. c. 36. ³ *Chr. Wikes, Knighton,* col. 2341. *Chr. Sax. Flor. Wig. Hist. Elicnf.* l. ii. c. 44.

had, by artificial fires or combustible matter fixed to their arrows, burnt several houses in the former: but *William* made good the damages to the sufferers, in order to possess the *English* with an opinion of his lenity, and to encourage them to expect, that they should be treated as subjects, rather than as a conquered people. He was obliged to make there a stay of eight days¹, by reason of a disentery which raged violently in his army: and when he advanced thence towards *London*, receiving the submission of the *Kentishmen*, and hostages for assurance of their fidelity; he was stopped some time on the road, by being seized himself with the same distemper². In the mean time *Edwin*, *Morcar*, and a good number of the *English* nobility, who had either not been present at the late battle, or had escaped from it, assembling at *London*, consulted together about the measures proper to be taken for settling the government of the nation, and making head against the *Normans*. The *Londoners* insisted strongly, that *Edgar Atheling* should be placed upon the throne: his right to it was indisputable, and the weight of that city was very great, on account of the wealth, military prowess, and number of its inhabitants; *Fitz Stephens* observing, that not long after, in the time of king *Stephen*, it was able to muster sixty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, well armed and accoutered. Archbishop *Stigand* seems to be the only prelate that joined heartily in this motion; most of the rest being either secret favourers of the duke of *Normandie*, or intimidated by the Pope's declaration in his behalf: but it being supported by the general sense of the nobility, *Edgar* was accordingly proclaimed king, and orders given for levying a new army.

THESE measures seem to have been agreeable to the whole nation; every body at least submitted to *Edgar*: and *Leofric* (nephew to *Leofric* the great earl of *Mercia*) abbot of *Peterborough*, dying on *November* 1³, *Brand* was elected in his stead by the monks, and sent to that prince for his royal assent, which he readily granted. But his exercise of the government was very short: and all hopes of raising an army sufficient to oppose that of the *Normans*, and to prevent the destruction of the country, vanished upon *Edwin* and *Morcar's* discontent at their missing the crown to which they aspired, and retiring from *London* with the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* forces. This defection discouraging the lesser nobility, and none of superior rank or more eminent power offering to put himself at their head (for which *Edgar*, a raw youth⁴, of a shallow capacity, and no experience, was utterly unqualified) they despairing of success, began likewise to disperse: and all the preparations made came to nothing, upon *William's* advancing into *Surrey*, and burning all the country-houses in the neighbourhood of the city, on that side of the river. The *Londoners* indeed ventured to attack a party of five hundred *Norman* horse⁵: but being routed with a considerable loss, were so disheartened thereby, that upon *William's* passing the *Thames* at *Wallingford*, and arrival at *Berghamstead*, in his march towards *London*, they either seeing no likelihood of making head against him, or wrought upon by the influence of their bishop *William*, who was by birth a *Norman*, or else flattered with the hopes of experiencing the same good government, which *William* was famed for exercising over his subjects in *Normandie*, were as ready, as any of the less considerable nobility that staid with them, to make their submission. All now joined with the prelates in courting the duke of *Normandie* to accept the crown: but though they delivered hostages for assurance of their fidelity, he did not care to trust himself in the city; till he had built a fortress in it to awe the inhabitants, and secured it by a strong garrison of his *Normans*. Whilst this was erecting, he passed his time at *Berking* in *Essex*⁶: and caused preparations

¹ *Guil. Pictav.* ² *Flor. Wig.* ³ *Chr. Sax.* could not be above fourteen, at the time of the conquest. ⁴ *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 778, says, he was of the same age with *Robert Curthase*, who ⁵ *Guil. Pictav.* p. 205, 206. ⁶ *Ib.* p. 208.

WILLIAM to be made for his coronation ; the ceremony whereof was performed on *Christmas-day*, with all the splendour and magnificence proper for such a royal solemnity.

^{1.}
A. D. 1066.

William
crowned at
Wimborgh.

VI. IT had been an invariable custom among the *English*, from the time that the unction of kings was introduced, for the archbishop of *Canterbury* to officiate and put the crown on the king's head, at that solemnity and on all publick occasions: and this custom rendering it the undoubted right of the metropolitan to do so, *William* applied to *Stigand* for that purpose ; but was refused. The reasons alleged by this prelate, for declining the office ¹, were, “ that *William* had made his way to the throne by blood, and by the invasion of another's right:” but these objections had little weight with *Aldred*, archbishop of *York* ; who being of a time-serving disposition, thought it more prudent to comply with the *Conqueror's* request, and to perform the office. There are no particular circumstances mentioned by our old historians in their accounts of the coronation, sufficient to enable a judgment to be formed, whether the office used on that occasion was taken from the *English*, or the *Norman* pontifical. The ceremony most taken notice of by them is “ the oath by which *William* bound himself to maintain the church of God, “ and all *Christian* people, in true peace ; to prohibite all orders of men from committing injustice and oppression, and to enjoin the observance of equity and mercy “ in all judgments.” Such was the purport of the three articles of the oath which the *Conqueror* took at his coronation : it was the same which he had taken at his inauguration as duke of *Normandie* ², and which the kings of *France* did of old, and continue at this day to take : but as it runs in the same individual words with the promise made by the kings of *England* before the conquest, there is no reason hence to imagine that the old office ³, used at king *Ethelred's* coronation (which, wrote in an hand of the time, is still preserved in the *Cotton* library) was not likewise made use of at *William's*. It is certain that all the successors of this last named prince were crowned according to the *Saxon* form ; the same in substance with that used at this day in such solemnities ; which last was originally settled in the time of *Richard II*, and is now to be seen in the *Liber Regalis*, preserved in *Westminster Abbey*. The judicial law of the *Jews* serving for a principal direction to the *Saxons* in modelling their own ; and the usages of the former people recommending themselves to the imitation of the latter, the *English Saxon* princes took no oaths ⁴ any more than the *Jewish* ; so that before the conquest, all our kings (except *Canute*, a foreigner and invader, and as such obliged in policy to give the nation the most solemn assurances of his good government, in order to remove the jealousies entertained of him) only promised upon their word, to keep the three articles, which the *Norman* princes afterwards swore to observe. Nor was there the least variation in the terms, wherein these articles were couched, till after the times of *Braeton* ⁵ and *Fleta* ⁶ ; and till a new article was added at *Edward* the first's coronation ; as another seems to have been at those of *Richard II* and *Henry IV* ⁷, and perhaps on some other occasions, when it became expedient to quiet the minds of the people on any particular subject.

Discourse of
coronation
oaths.

VII. THIS variation in the forms of the *English* coronation oaths, and the late introduction of them into practice, afford sufficient reasons to presume, they had nothing in them of the nature of an original contract : but were designed rather as memorandums to put princes to mind their duty, and a politick expedient, as well

¹ Gul. Neubrig. l. i. c. 1. Chron. Wikes. Chron. 4to. p. 629. ³ Bibl. Cotton. Claudius A. iii. ⁵ L. iii. c. 9. f. 10.

Walteri Hemingsford, Brompton, col. 962. ² Offic. ad ducem constit. in Du Chesne's Hist. ⁴ Leges Wihredi. ⁶ P. 18. ⁷ See Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. iv.

to possess their subjects with an expectation of a just, mild, and happy government according to the tenor of the oath, as to engage them the more readily to obey a monarch, to whose elevation they had expressly declared their consent. This will appear still more clearly, by a short historical account of the original and practice of such professions, promises, and oaths, made or taken at the inauguration or coronation of *Christian* princes. When the state of *Rome* was changed from a republick to a monarchy, and it was deemed good policy to continue the phantom of a senate, and the ancient forms of proceedings, in order to gull the people with some exterior appearance of their former liberty, it might naturally be expected, that the new lords of the world should have given the subjects of their wide-extended empire some solemn assurance of their ruling them with justice and lenity: but we find nothing of this nature done by any of the *Roman* emperors, till after the division of the empire, and the death of the eastern emperor *Zeno*. This happening in *A. D.* 491, his relict, the empress *Ariadne*, was desirous to raise *Anastasius* to the throne, as well as to her bed: but found an obstacle to the execution of her design, in the suspicions entertained of this prince, as if he was infected with the heresy of the *Manichees*. To remove the difficulty, *Anastasius* was obliged to deliver a confession of his faith in writing, to be kept, as *Cedrenus* says, in the patriarch's hands: and this appearing to be truly *Christian* and orthodox in all respects, he was thereupon declared emperor. This however was no rule to his successors; who not lying under the like suspicions, had no occasion to clear their orthodoxy by the like professions: nor was any promise exacted from them in relation to their civil government for above an hundred years after, till a form of divine service coming to be used at the solemnity of a coronation, the bishops who composed it upon the model of ecclesiastical ordinals, to which they conformed as nearly as the nature of distinct offices would admit, thought fit to require from emperors, at their inauguration, certain professions and assurances, analogous to those which were made by bishops and priests at their ordination.

When *Phocas* usurped the empire, the patriarch *Cyriacus* exacted from him a promise¹, "that he would adhere to the true faith, and preserve the church free from all troubles:" and *Leo Isaurus* assuming the purple, was obliged, by the patriarch *Nicephorus*², to give a solemn assurance, "that he would not differ from the holy fathers; that he would never attempt any thing to the prejudice of the church, nor introduce any innovations." The difference, which appears in the terms of these promises, arose from that of the suspicions entertained of those emperors; the former being suspected with regard to the faith in general, and the latter, though orthodox in that respect, being known to have an utter aversion to the worship of images, and in consequence thereof to the use of them in churches. Orthodox emperors took occasion hence to declare voluntarily the purity of their faith, and to sign a profession of it in writing, but without observing an invariable form: and about four successions after *Leo*, about the middle of the ninth century, *Michael Rangabes* (as *Zonaras* says) promised the patriarch not only to abstain from all innovations in the church, but also to exercise no cruelty in the empire. *Nicetas* and *Nicephorus Gregoras* observe expressly of *Alexius* and *Andronicus*, that the promises, which they made at their accession to the empire, related as well to their civil government as to religion: and the form thereof was settled before the time of *Codinus*³, who recites it at length, and speaks of it as the constant usage. It contained a confession of the emperor's faith; a declaration that he received the seven general councils; and an engagement to abstain from the blood of

¹ *Evagr. Hist. Eccl.* l. iii.² *Theophanes in Chronogr.*³ *Cedrenus not. in Codin.* c. 17.⁴ *De Offic. Constantinop.* c. 17.

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Christians; and to maintain truth, justice, and equity in his government: it was written with his own hand, as well as signed by him; and it was delivered to the patriarch in the church of *St. Sophia* at his coronation; but without any oath being taken on the occasion.

THE *Goths* in *Spain*, who were the first that copied the Constantinopolitan practice in the anointing of their princes, were as early in following the example set them, with regard to the assurances, fit to be given at their inauguration, as well of their resolution to maintain the catholic faith, and to protect the clergy, as to govern the people in general with justice and equity. To render their obligation the more solemn, *Wambia*, *Ecgica*, and other *Gothick* kings, took an oath to make good these promises, as we learn from the sixth¹ and fifteenth² councils of *Toledo*. Their monarchy was soon after destroyed by the *Moors*: and some ages passed, before any such oath was taken by princes in any other part of *Europe*. *Valesius* seems³ to think, it may be presumed from the relation of *Anastasius* the *Librarian*, that Pope *Sergius* exacted some promise from *Louis the Younger*, son of the emperor *Lothaire*, before the silver gates of *St. Peter's* church were opened to him: but *John X* was the first, that obliged an emperor to take an oath at his coronation; *Berenger*, about *A. D.* 916, being forced to comply with the demand, in order to engage the *Pope's* favour during his dispute for the empire. It doth not appear that any oath was taken by the kings of *France* at their coronation, till *Louis le Jeune* was crowned on *October* 25, 1131, by Pope *Innocent II*, who probably introduced the practice: and it hath since been constantly observed by all the successors of that prince; who enjoined it in the⁴ form, which he appointed, of the ceremonies and order to be used in future coronations. It consisted at first of the same three articles, that appear in the promise of our *Saxon* kings; with the addition of a fourth, which seems to have been dictated by the *Pope*; who probably might find his account in engaging the king to swear, “to drive all hereticks, “declared so by the church, out of his dominions.” Others were added occasionally at particular times by bishops; who performed the ceremony, and arrogated extravagant powers to themselves on that account: but these perishing with the occasion that suggested them, none of those innovations are now retained; except the article obliging the king to a strict execution of the laws against duels.

IN *England*, the promise, expressed in the three articles abovementioned seems to have been introduced by king *Alfred*, at the same time with the rite of unction and the form of divine service, used afterwards at the coronations of our *English-Saxon* princes. This form was probably drawn up by *Alfred* himself, with the assistance of some of those learned men, whom he consulted on all occasions: it is different from those of the *Ordo Romanus* and *Pontificale Romanum*; and is to be seen in a manuscript of his age containing the occasional divine offices of the church of *England*, and given to the chapter of *Rouen* by *Robert*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, before the conquest. The promise likewise, made by him on the day of his coronation at *Winchester*, is preserved in the register of *Athelney*⁵: and runs in the same terms, with that made by *Ethelred* at his inauguration, and that to which *William the Conqueror* added the solemnity of an oath. This last named prince having, by his great victory near *Hastings*, broken the power of his adversaries, reduced several provinces of *England* in his march to *London*, and received the submission of the inhabitants of that city, and of the *English* nobility, one after another, all of them in their turn acknowledging his claim of the crown, as heir to *Edward the Confessor*: there is not the least room, either from the historical passages preceding his coronation, or from

¹ *Can.* iii.² *Can.* v.³ *Du Tillet Recueil des Rois de France*, p. 189.⁴ *In Poem. De laud. Berengarii in Hist. Ital.* i. ii. p. 410.⁵ *Peter's Car. Wyndham Baronet.* ii. 43.

his conduct afterwards, to imagine that he made any contract with the nation, or that he did not receive the crown upon the same footing with his predecessors; and the oath itself is conceived in too general terms to be the effect of a particular stipulation. It was certainly a singularity: and our historians¹ represent it as a great merit in *Aldred* who crowned him, that he exacted from him an oath, obliging himself to perform what former kings had only promised upon their word; as if the oath of a conqueror and usurper would really be of some use to restrain his passion for absolute power. The prelate's view in thus exerting a power, which consecrators in such solemnities usually claimed, and sometimes abused, was not perhaps so much to give satisfaction to the nation, as to make an apology for his own conduct in putting the crown upon *William's* head, after *Stigand* had refused. This at least is evidently the design of the story, related by *Malmesbury* and other monkish writers, of his sending agents to court with remonstrances against the grievances which the people suffered under the conqueror's government; and in defect of redress, justifying the imprecations, which resentment drew from him on that occasion, by alledging that he might reasonably bestow his curse upon such as had misbehaved themselves under his blessing. Whatever was *Aldred's* motive for imposing an oath, it was not proper for *William*, in the circumstances of his affairs, and those of the nation, to refuse it: and he probably complied the more readily, because it was agreeable to the custom of *Normandie*, and he had taken it in the very same terms at his inauguration to the duchy. It was probably this circumstance, which recommended it to the practice of his successors, who have ever since retained it in the ceremonial of their coronation: so that being hallowed by usage, though the present terms of the oath are of a much later original, the practice of taking one in such solemnities subsists now upon the foot of other *Norman* customs, introduced at the conquest, though varied since in some particulars.

It seems in a manner needless to observe, that according to the *Saxon* form of coronation, *Te Deum* was sung, as soon as the king, coming into church, had prostrated himself before the altar: and this was immediately followed by the recognition of the bishops and the acclamations of the people; which always preceded the king's promise of a good government, and continued to do so in the forms used after the conquest. It was above two hundred years after that event, before any alteration was made in the terms of the oath; and before any of the interrogatories now put to the king by the prelate officiating at his coronation, in imitation of the like questions put to priests and bishops at their ordination, were taken from the *Roman* pontificals, and inserted in the *English* coronation service. These alterations were probably made by the officiating bishops² on favourable occasions, to give countenance to the pretensions of *Popes*, and the extravagant notions of popish prelates; who, because kings received the regal diadem from their hands, ascribed such effects to the action of coronation, as were inconsistent with policy, reason, and religion, and prevailed sometimes upon weak princes to commence the æras of their reigns, from the day of their coronation, rather than from the demise of their predecessor. This was perhaps done without any warrant from

¹ *Guil. Neubrig, Alured, Beverley*, l. ix. *Stubbs Acta Pontif. Ebor.* col. 1702. *Simon Dun.* col. 195.

² So *Hodin de Rep.* p. 105, 106, complains of the bishops of *Reims* forming oaths for the kings of *France* at their inauguration, to countenance the like pretensions, the vanity of which he shews, since ante unctionem suam rex imperii possessione ac proprietate potitur, non quidem hereditario aut paterno jure, multo minus etiam pontificum aut patriam beneficio, sed lege regia: id quod jampridem senatus consulto *Francorum an. 1468*, decretum est,

ne quis regiam potestatem ab arbitrio principum pendere existimaret, non quia senatus de regis potestate ante initiationum dubitaret, sed ut inanes illæ pontificum argutiæ a stirpe convellarentur. Id enim ab avorum extrema memoria contrito proverbio didicimus: *nunquam reges apud nos interire*, ut omnes intelligerent, mortuo principe ad proximum agnatum eodem momento imperii jus ac potestatem transferri, ne esset incerta regni successio, qua peste nulla perniciosior in republica existere potest.

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the crown, or if the royal prerogative intervened, it was only by such a reference to the archbishop and prelates appointed to examine and settle the form of the coronation service, as is now practised with regard to the forms of prayer used on fast and thanksgiving days; it being very certain that neither the original service itself, nor any of the alterations in it, ever received the sanction of parliamentary authority. These things sufficiently shew the vanity of such *papistical* and *republican* notions, derogatory to the rights of monarchy, as are founded either on the necessity of the rite of coronation, or on the terms of the oath then taken. They are likewise plainly inconsistent with the fundamental and universally received maxims of the law of *England*; for by the descent of the crown, the royalty is actually conferred, and consequently an obligation on the king's part of protection and good government, and on the people's of subjection and obedience according to law. The voluntary obligation superadded by the king, when he binds himself by oath to perform what he was bound to before, and the voluntary submission and recognition made by the people, contribute nothing either to the right or power of the prince, or to the duty of the subject: but are only an open expression or solemn declaration of what they were obliged to, antecedent to those ceremonies; which were not intended to create, but purely to put the people in mind of, their duties. Even the rite of coronation is not absolutely required: it doth not invest a king with any new additional authority, or with any branch of government he had not before, or put him on any new terms or footing in regard to his subjects: a king in his cradle one year old, when incapable of attending the coronation ceremony, hath been always deemed as essentially a king, as another of one hundred, who had passed through that solemnity. It always was, and still is, as much high treason to conspire against a king, before his coronation, as after it; his right to govern, and to the obedience of the subject, not depending on any engagements entered into at that solemnity; and that pompous ceremony making no addition to his real character. But of all the maxims of the *English* law, there is none to which those antimonarchical principles, grounded on mistaken notions of the coronation oath, are more directly contradictory, than to that which hath been received in all ages of this monarchy, and in other countries as well as our own, whereby it is declared, *that among us, the king never dies*; every body understanding by it, that whatever be the moment of any particular prince's decease, all the right of command and government is vested the same instant in the next heir by *lineal* succession, and proximity of blood. This is a maxim to which the wisest states in *Europe* ascribe their peace and welfare; it being necessary to prevent that uncertainty of succession, which is the greatest plague and calamity to which a state can be subject: it is what all our law books assert to be a fundamental maxim of our constitution, and what our parliaments have acknowledged as such; particularly in the case of king *James I.*, the first prince of the line of *Stuart*, in the act of recognition of whose right they declare themselves "bound by the laws both of
" God and man to acknowledge that immediately upon the decease of queen
" *Elizabeth*, the imperial crown of the realm of *England*, and all the kingdoms, do-
" minions, and rights belonging to the same, did by *inherent birth-right*, and lawful
" and undoubted succession, descend and come to his said most excellent majesty,
" as being *lineally*, justly, and lawfully *next* and *sole* heir of the blood royal of this
" realm; and oblige themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever to maintain the
" same right of descent and succession, till the last drop of blood be spent."

THE recognition of *William the Conqueror*, whose coronation oath gave occasion to the above discourse on that subject, had like to have proved fatal to the inha-

bitants of *Westminster*: and the accidental consequences thereof are said to have given the *English* the first distaste which they entertained against the *Norman* government. *William*, to guard against the numerous militia, and the turbulent spirit of the *Londoners*, had taken care to erect several small fortresses within the city, and to put garrisons in them, ready to suppress any sedition that might arise: and to prevent any disturbance during the solemnity of his coronation, he had surrounded the abbey with a body of his forces. These precautions did not make the *Normans* think themselves absolutely secure: and when those without the church heard the acclamations of the people within, ¹ being struck with the confused noise of *French* and *English* voices, they presently imagined that a quarrel had happened, and some mischief was intended by the latter. Not allowing themselves time to examine into the matter, they immediately set the next houses on fire; which spreading and giving a general alarm, every body ran out of the church; the *English* to stop the fire, the *Normans* to plunder: the bishops, clergy, and monks being only left within, and in so much confusion, that they were scarce able to go through the office of crowning the king; who seeing the tumult, and not knowing the truth of the matter, was himself trembling at the foot of the altar. This passed for an unlucky omen at the beginning of a reign: and though no great mischief was done by the fire, it laid the foundation of those suspicions which the *English* entertained of the *Normans*; whom they hated ever after, and wished earnestly for an opportunity of having their revenge.

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VIII. As soon as the coronation was over, *William* retired to *Berking*; where he staid till the tower of *London* was built, and the other fortresses he was erecting about the city, were perfected. During his residence in that place, the two great earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, earl *Coxo*, *Edric Guilda*, or *Silvaticus*, great nephew to *Edric Streona*, and lord of *Wigmore*, with abundance of other considerable noblemen ², repaired to him with tenders of their submission; and on swearing fealty, were confirmed in the possession of their estates. He was now master of *Harold's* treasury: and besides the immense treasure which was found in it, had great presents made him by the cities, towns, and wealthy persons of the realm; who ³ chose to employ the vast riches (which a flourishing trade brought daily into the nation; and which they had been used to spend in luxury) rather in making court to their new lord, than in providing for the defence of their liberties. Thus was the *Conqueror* enabled to provide for the maintenance of the army, which had put him on the throne of *England*, and was necessary to keep the kingdom in subjection; to reward his followers bountifully; to distribute large charities among poor monasteries, and to send costly ornaments, vessels, and other presents to a thousand churches in *France*, *Aquitaine*, and *Burgundy*, which had said masses for the success of his expedition.

William's
measures for
the securing
of his govern-
ment.

NORMANDIE was all this while left destitute of troops for its defence: and *William* found himself obliged to hasten over thither in person, to prevent any attempt, which *France* or some other neighbouring power might, by that circumstance, be tempted to make upon the province. It was necessary, before he quitted *England*, to make a proper provision for the security of his new conquest: and lest the forces he left behind should, in the unsettled state of the realm, be insufficient for that purpose, to take some measures for making the nobility easy, and keeping the body of the people quiet. A vast number of the nobility and gentry in the south, the west, and the middle of the kingdom, had fallen in the battle of *Hastings*: and their estates, being confiscated, were divided among his followers;

¹ *Orl. Vital.* l. iii. p. 503.

² *Ib.* p. 506. *Gul. Piprav.* p. 208.

³ *Ib.* p. 206.

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whose services in the expedition had merited the rewards he promised, when they embarked in his quarrel. Such of the *English* gentry as survived the loss of the day, underwent the same fate; all their lands being given away, and the confiscation executed in all parts with great severity: but to prevent any ill effects from the resentment of these, whose power and influence sunk with the loss of their possessions, he took care to remove the apprehensions, which the rest of nobility might naturally entertain, upon such a revolution, with regard to their own; by declaring that he claimed the crown, and would govern as a legal king, and whilst he punished such as had opposed his right, in favour of an usurper, would maintain all others in the enjoyment of their lands and properties. This declaration was followed by a suitable conduct¹: none were disturbed in their possessions, but those who had appeared against him in the field; which allaying the fears of the far more numerous part of the nobility, who had remained quiet during the war, kept them from joining in the desperate measures, ready to be taken by such as had forfeited their estates. To confirm them the more in their obedience, and to give them a taste of what they might expect from his favour and bounty, he made very beneficial grants to many of the *English*; conferring more upon them than they derived either from their natural princes or parents, bestowing even estates in *Normandie* upon some of them, though lying at a distance from one another, for fear of their confederating on any occasion, to raise an insurrection: and he carried this affectation of confidence and affection so far, that he not only confirmed *Edgar Atheling* (the person in the nation of whom he had the most reason to be jealous, as being the true heir to the crown) in the earldom of *Oxford*, but gave him likewise other lands, pretending a wonderful respect and kindness for him, as the nephew of his great benefactor *Edward the Confessor*. To this stroke of policy may be added another, which he began to take at this time, and continued to observe afterwards²; making it his business to marry several of the *English*, that he took over with him into *Normandie*, to the fairest ladies of that country, and the richest heiresses of the nobility in *England* to his *Norman* warriors; a step which looked like a design of uniting the two nations, and of treating both on an equal foot, without any invidious distinction in favour of either.

To quiet the minds of the common people, who make the bulk and strength of a kingdom, and without whose concurrence, not to be expected in the case of a general oppression and discontent, it is scarce possible to raise a formidable insurrection against any government, however weak in its title, or precarious in its situation, he took other measures, which succeeded to his wishes. The change made in the succession of the crown, produced no alteration in their condition; they continued to enjoy their properties, the benefit of their ancient laws, the ordinary course of justice, their usual courts for the equal administration thereof, and their admirable institution of frank-pledges for their common peace and security. They were assured of being protected in all these by their new monarch; and had nothing more to hope for in another change; which could not be attempted without terrible dangers and mischiefs to themselves, and throwing the nation again into confusion; and which, after all, there was very little likelihood of effecting. To give them entire satisfaction as to their own rights, and an earnest of the measures he proposed to pursue, *William* granted the city of *London* a³ new charter, confirming the customs, immunities, and privileges which the citizens had enjoyed in the days of *Edward the Confessor*. He made a progress into the provinces of the *Mercians* and *West-Saxons*, to strike, by his majestick presence, those who already admired, or were enamoured of him by his fame, to raise the great opinion generally

¹ *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208.

² *Matth. Paris. in Vit. Friderici abb. S. Alban.* p. 47.

³ *Stow. F. 5.* entertained,

entertained of him, to confirm the peoples expectations, and establish his own reputation, by the care he took to suppress the robbers, who finding shelter in the woods, which in those days took up a considerable part of most counties in the kingdom, infested from thence all the neighbourhood, and by the many wholesome¹ regulations, which serving as so many proofs of his excellent talents for government, he made in all places through which he went, to save the inhabitants from rapine and violence, and to secure the peace of the country.

WHILST he thus courted the good-will of the nobility and people, he did not forget (well knowing the changeable temper and credulity of the *English*, and the prejudices they easily contract against a foreigner) to provide against the worst; and to prevent any ill effects of their lightness and disaffection. With this view, he caused strong castles to be erected at *Norwich*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and in other convenient places, filling them with garrisons of his *Norman* soldiers; who, by means of those fortresses, were as well secured themselves against all surprizes and sudden attempts of the natives, as ready to suppress any insurrection or commotion that might happen. The great want of such castles in *England*, and the use thereof in saving the people from the grievance of quartering foreign soldiers, rendered that step less subject to jealousy, than another precaution which *William* took at the same time, and which might very reasonably alarm the nation with an apprehension of his design to enslave it; since a disarmed people ought always to consider themselves as slaves already, being no longer in a condition to defend their liberties, if they chance to be invaded. By the *Saxon* laws every landholder in the kingdom was obliged to have by him armour and weapons according to his rank and fortune, and to produce them every year at a general review, made on *Feb. 3.* in all parts of the realm, to shew that they were in good order and fit for service. Whether this was any expence to the subject, or being an obligation, was considered as a burden, the *Conqueror*, who really hated and could not trust the *English*, took care to ease them in that respect: and either with a design to enslave them, or to disable them from raising any disturbance in his new acquired dominions, disarmed the citizens of *London* and the people in some parts of the country; leaving them at the mercy of the standing army of foreigners, which he thought fit to entrust with the guard of the kingdom. The command of this army and the government of the realm, he committed, during his absence, to his half-brother, *Odo*² bishop of *Bayeux*, whom he had made earl of *Kent*, a prelate equally qualified for the management of civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs, and to *William Fitz Osbern*, a wise, brave, and experienced general, in whom he placed an entire confidence, and whom he had lately made earl of *Hereford*.

HAVING thus provided for his affairs in *England*, *William* embarked at *Pevensey*: and passed over into *Normandie*; carrying with him not only the hostages which had been delivered to him upon the submission of *London* and the different parts of the kingdom, but abundance likewise of the principal nobility; whom he either suspected as likely by their inclinations, or dreaded as able by their power, to raise an insurrection in his absence. The³ chief of these were *Stigand* archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Edwin* and *Morcar*, earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*; the abbot of *Glastenbury*; *Agelnoth*, and *Waltheof* son of *Sirward*, powerful noblemen, the one in *Kent*, the other in the north of *England*; and another more considerable than all these, *Edgar Atheling*; whom it was not safe or prudent to leave behind in a kingdom, to which he had an undoubted title. His pretence for taking these great men along with him, was to do them honour, as his inti-

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¹ *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208. *Order. Vital.* l. iv. p. 506.
Sax. Flor. Hüg. *Order. Vital.* p. 506.

² *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208.

³ *Ib.* 209. *Chron.*

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mate friends, and that they might be an ornament to his court: and he treated them indeed with all the exterior marks of respect; particularly *Stigand*¹, whom he still accosted with the stile of *Father*, rose from his seat in all assemblies to salute, caused to be received on all proper occasions with solemn processions, and spared for no ceremonies or honours that could be claimed, as due either to the dignity of his person, or to the sacredness of his character. This train of *English* noblemen contributed much to the splendor of *William's* court; who keeping his *Easter* in the abbey of *Fescamp*², and being there visited by count *Rodulf*, father-in-law to the king of *France*, and great numbers of *French* nobility, these strangers could not help envying the comeliness of the *English*, not inferior to the grace and beauty of women, nor sufficiently admire the richness of their habits, and the curiousness of their workmanship, far exceeding all they had ever seen before. The king and his guards, all embroidered with gold, made a fine appearance; the magnificence of his entertainments was extraordinary: and the number, size, and gracefulness of the gold and silver vessels, used or exhibited to shew on such occasions, astonished the spectators: so that they reported of them things which appeared incredible.

Disturbances
in *England*.

IX. ALL the measures taken by *William* to keep matters quiet in *England*, during his absence, did not prevent commotions breaking out in various parts of the kingdom; which *William* of *Poictiers*³, willing to clear *Odo* and *Fitz Osbern* from any misconduct in their administration, imputes to the mutinous spirit of the *English*; but may, according to *Ordericus Vitalis*⁴, be more justly charged upon the haughty and rapacious temper of the *Normans*. This last writer represents the governors of castles and lesser fortresses, as insulting the *English* gentry; loading the people with great exactions; and treating both with various kinds of injuries and contumelies, too harsh for a free nation to digest; and blames the two guardians of the realm for defending their followers in their plunder of houses, rapes of women, and other enormities, which no complaints of the *English* could prevail upon them to redress. Such grievances, hard to be born under any government, could not well fail of raising disturbances in a new one, as yet unsettled; and that this was really the case, may reasonably be presumed from the two most considerable commotions taken notice of by historians, happening under the eye, as it were, of the chief governors.

THE first of these broke out in *Kent*, a country under the immediate government of *Odo*, and the place of his usual residence: and was supported by *Eustace* count of *Bologne*, to whom the inhabitants, notwithstanding their animosity against him ever since the quarrel which happened about fifteen years before at *Dover*, had applied for succours. A design was formed for seizing the castle of this place, in the absence of *Hugh de Montfort* the governor; who was gone with *Odo*, and the greatest part of the soldiers left to guard the country, on an expedition north of the *Thames*; which afforded a favourable opportunity for the enterprize. *Eustace* was now at enmity with *William*, and crossing the sea by night with a body of troops, joined the *Kentishmen*, and thought to surprize the castle: but found the garrison not only prepared to receive him, but more numerous than he expected. He gave an assault to the place, but was repulsed by the *Normans*; whose resolution rising with their success, they made a sally, put the assailants to flight, and drove abundance of them down the cliffs headlong into the sea; the count himself escaping to his ships with a few of his followers. *Eustace's* nephew was taken in

¹ *Malmesb. De gest. pontif.* l. i.

² *Gul. Piët.* p. 212.

³ *Gul. Piëtav.* p. 211.

⁴ P. 212.

⁵ P. 507.

the action, and adjudged, by the sentence of both *Norman* and *English* nobility, to lose all the lands which the king had given him in *England*: But his person was spared, and he was restored at last to the good graces of the *Conqueror*. WILLIAM I.
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THE scene of the other disturbance lay in the shires of *Salop* and *Hereford*. *Edric*¹, surnamed *Silvaticus*, or the forester, son of *Alfric*, brother to the infamous *Edric Streona*, who ruined the affairs of *Ethelred* and *Edmond Ironside*, was lord of a considerable part of the former of those counties. He had come to *London* soon after *William's* coronation, with *Edwin*² and other noblemen, to make his submission to the *Conqueror*, and had been well received: yet his lands were continually wasted by the incursions of *Richard Fitz Scrop*, and the *Norman* castellans in *Herefordshire*, the particular government of *William Fitz Osbern*. *Edric* was a brave, vigilant, active, and enterprizing warrior, and never let those invaders of his territories march off with their booty unencountered; so that they lost abundance of men in these irruptions: but not bearing to be teased continually with their insults, he resolved to attack them in his turn, and make the like havock on their lands in *Herefordshire*. For this purpose, being joined by a body of *Welsh*, which *Blethyn* and *Rywallon*, the princes of *North-wales* and *Powys*, sent to his assistance, he wasted, about the middle of *August*, all that county as far as the bridge upon *Lagge*: and returned home with a great booty in triumph. Though these are the onely disturbances particularly related by our old writers, there certainly happened in other parts many more, which *Odo* and the earl of *Hereford* were obliged to join their forces to suppress: and the nation was so incensed at the rapine of the *Normans*, and in so general a disposition to rise, that earl *Coxo*, who having submitted to *William*, adhered firmly to his interests, was slain by his own vassals, because he would not head them in an insurrection.

THESE disturbances, and the disorders which reigned in all parts, where the woods, affording refuge to bands of forfeited and discontented persons, enabled them to sally thence, from time to time, to surprize or attack the *Normans*, abundance of which were thus cut off, brought *William* back at the latter end of the year to *England*. When he came over before, he had left the government of *Normandie* in the hands of *Roger de Montgomery*: but bringing this nobleman with him to reward his services, at first with the earldom of *Arundel* or *Sussex*, and afterwards with that of *Shrewsbury*, he now committed the government of the duchy to queen *Matilda* and his eldest son *Robert*. He landed at *Winchelsea*³ on *Dec. 6.* and by his sudden arrival defeated the measures agreed on by the *English* for shaking off the *Norman* yoke; the discovery of whose design seems to have been the reason which hastened his coming over. The conspiracy indeed was too general, and there were too many hands required for its execution, to allow it to be kept a secret, among a people naturally confident of success, and apt to depend on the schemes which they form for futurity, with as much certainty, as if they had already taken effect. The design was to fall at the same hour upon the *Norman* forces, dispersed in different quarters of the kingdom for its defence: and having destroyed these, they imagined it easy for them to oppose and drive out the king, if he offered to return from *Normandie*. *Asb-Wednesday*, when the *Normans* used, according to the *Christian* custom, and penitential discipline of those days, to go to church barefoot, unarmed, and in the guise of penitents, to confess their sins, was the day; and the time of divine service, the hour fixed for the execution of the proposed massacre. A. D. 1068.

¹ Flor. Wig.² Order. Vital. p. 506.³ Gul. Gemet. l. vi. c. 29.

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A. D. 1068.

William's return, sooner than was expected, broke all the measures of the conspirators: and the chief of them, dreading his vengeance, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom; into *Cumberland* and other counties, not as yet visited by the *Norman* soldiery, full of woods and morasses; and taking possession of *Durham*, fortified it strongly, making it their head quarters. Whether this conspiracy was the occasion of the hatred which the *Conqueror* bore all his life to the *English*, it is certain that he never trusted them afterwards: and resolved, as well to govern them with an high hand, as to give away all their lands, as opportunities offered, to his *Normans*.

It was necessary to conceal a design, which would otherwise have met with great difficulties in its execution, and could not have failed to produce a general insurrection of the *English*: but he persisted in it constantly, and pursued it with great art; gaining his point by degrees, and carrying it on in the midst of the most engaging caresses, and the fairest professions of kindness, affection, and friendship; the mean cover for ill designs, however necessary for their taking effect. *William* at his coming over, compleated the distribution of the lands, forfeited by the partisans of *Harold* in the battle of *Hastings*, among the foreign adventurers, that shared with him in the dangers and glory of the day: but to give no umbrage to the *English* on that occasion, he¹ restored to every one the lands he had been dispossessed of in the late disturbances. He kept his *Christmas* at *London*; where he was received with great pomp, and all the exterior marks of respect: and the *English* prelates and nobility being assembled on that² occasion, he treated them with the greatest affability and kindness, readily granting all that they asked, and graciously hearing all that they proposed. The *Welsh* also attending him at that festival, he caressed them in the same manner: but to create a distrust between them and the *English*, he cautioned the latter to be on their guard against the others treacheries. It was in all appearance at this time, that he laid, what *Florence* and other writers call, an insupportable tax upon the people: which seems to have been no other than *Danegeld*; a tax to which the nation had been formerly used: but it having been remitted by *Edward the Confessor*, the revival thereof after several years intermission, gave no little discontent, and proved the occasion of a new insurrection.

Insurrections
in the west
and north.

X. EVERY thing bowed before the power of the *Conqueror* in the provinces, which he had visited in his progress, and filled with his garrisons: but the remotest parts of the west, and all the northern counties had not yet felt the terror of his arms, nor been awed with his presence. This was the case of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, where the people broke out into a commotion: and *Exeter*³, a wealthy city, the capital of the former of those counties, refused either to swear fealty to the king, or to receive a *Norman* garrison; though they were willing to submit to the tax imposed. *William*, refusing to make any terms with subjects, marched in the midst of winter to besiege the place: and being advanced within four miles of it, was met by the chief of the city with offers of submission; professing their readiness to do whatever he commanded, and giving hostages for the performance of their promises. The populace would not stand to the agreement: but breaking out into a tumult, shut the gates against the king; who incensed at their proceedings, put out the eyes of one of the hostages in the sight of the defendants, and drawing his army about the place, began to undermine the walls. The insolence of the common people soon gave way to the fears, which the danger they were in suggested; they were humbled enough to allow the principal citizens, whose agreement they had before rejected, to intercede with the *Conqueror*

¹ *Chr. Sax. Ann.* 1067.

² *Order. Vital.* p. 509.

³ *Ib.* 510.

for mercy : and the place was surrendered at discretion. *William*, like a great and wise king, forgetting his resentment against the rebels, that now lay prostrate at his feet, suing for mercy, seized the opportunity of possessing his subjects with a notion of his clemency : he put none of them to death ; and placing guards at the gates, saved the townsmen from being plundered by his soldiers. The forgiving of what had passed was not a more natural effect of his magnanimity, than it was of his wisdom to provide against any future insurrection ; which he did by erecting a castle in the city to bridle it ; strengthening it with a numerous garison, and entrusting the command, with the government of the county, to *Baldwin de Melis*, son of count *Gislebert*. From thence he advanced into *Cornwall* ; and the fame of his clemency flying before him, he easily quieted the commotion there : and marching back with his army, dismissed it to their usual quarters ; going himself to *Winchester*, where he kept his *Easter*. Thither queen *Maude* came to him from *Normandie* soon after the holy-days, and was crowned on *Whitsunday* by archbishop *Aldred* : nor did the year expire before she was delivered of a son ; who being named *Henry*, filled afterwards the throne of *England*.

THE insurrection ¹ which now broke out in the *North*, was much more formidable than that of the *West* ; being headed by the most considerable persons in the kingdom, and the likeliest to make it general over all *England* ; if it had not been the effect of their private discontents. The great earls, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, saw plainly the jealousy which the king had of them : and resented their being carried over into *Normandie*, to be shewn as it were in triumph to foreigners. *William* had promised the former to give him one of his daughters in marriage ; an alliance which would probably have as much attached the young nobleman to the interest of his father in law, as his sister's match had engaged him in those of *Harold* : but was dissuaded from it by the advice of the *Normans* ; and when *Edwin* put him in mind of his promise, he gave him an absolute refusal. This breach of the royal word ; the disappointment of an alliance on which they had built all their hopes of security, and of gaining the king's favour and friendship ; the despair of ever surmounting his suspicions of them, or of getting into his good graces, seem to have been the motives that hurried them into an insurrection, and put them upon sending to *Swein*, king of *Denmark*, for assistance. They were both young ; handsome in their persons ; noble by their descent ; allied to the princes of *Wales* ; powerful in their own country, as well by the interest of their relations, as by the largeness of their own estates or territories ; very devout and charitable, which engaged for them the daily prayers of the monks and poor ; exceeding popular all over the nation ; and followed by great numbers of the *Welsh* and *English*. They solicited all parts of *England* to take up arms, and put themselves at the head of an insurrection in *Yorkshire* ; where their nephew *Blathyn*, prince of *North-Wales*, joined them with his forces. *William*, who seems hitherto to have kept measures with these noblemen, and to have affected the shew of a confidence in them, so far as to place no *Norman* garrisons within their governments, was now obliged to march against them with his army. To secure the country as he advanced, he built strong castles at *Warwick* and *Nottingham* : and supplied them with good garrisons, under the command of *Henry de Newburg* (son of *Roger de Beaumont*, count of *Meulant*) whom he afterwards made earl of *Warwick*, and *William de Peverell*. *Edwin* and *Morcar* not receiving that benefit which they expected from the insurrections, which they had encouraged by their emissaries in various parts of the kingdom, and which being made in small parties, served rather to make the country a terrible scene of rapine, burnings, slaughter,

¹ *Ib.* p. 511.² *Ib.* 512.

WILLIAM and desolation, than to bring them any recruits of forces: and being likewise disappointed of the *Danish* and *Scottish* succours, with the hopes of which they had flattered themselves; thought it their best way, upon the king's¹ approach, to make up matters with him; and offering to submit, obtained their pardon. This submission broke the force, and decided the fate of the insurrection; putting in a manner an end to all opposition, whilst every body concerned in it strove who should first follow the example. *William* advancing to *York*, the citizens opened their gates to him: and whilst he staid there to build a castle to curb the city, *Archillus*, the most potent of the *Northumbrian* nobility, made his accommodation with him, and gave his son an hostage for his future fidelity. *Egelwin*, bishop of *Durham*, sued for grace for himself, and those of his city: and having obtained it, was employed, as a mediator, to make up matters with the king of *Scotland*; who, at the request of the *English* earls, had levied an army for their assistance, though not soon enough to join them, before they were obliged, in a country where there were no towns of defence, either to fight *William*, to disperse their forces, or make their accommodation. *Malcolm* was on the march, when the overtures of peace met him, and stopped his farther advance; he readily accepting them, and sending embassadors to take the oath of fealty, which he owed to the crown of *England*.

WILLIAM having quieted the north², erected in his return thence the strong castles of *Lincoln*, *Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*, for the security of the neighbouring countries; which now began to be infested by the incursions of the famous *Hereward le Wake*, son of *Leofric*, lord of *Brunne* in *Norfolk*: who returned this year from foreign parts, and finding his patrimonial estate seized by the *Normans*, slew the invaders of it, and wasted in revenge all the parts adjacent, with a band of resolute warriors, which he raised among his tenants and relations. These commotions in *England*, and the march of the *Norman* army into the north, encouraged *Godwin*³, *Edmond*, and *Magnus*, sons of the late usurper *Harold*, to come out of *Ireland*, and land in *Somersetshire*; where *Eadnoth*, formerly master of the horse to their father, opposing them with a body of *English*, was slain in battle, and his forces routed. This victory left the country exposed to their depredations: but not being joined by any of the natives, they only ravaged it with the adjoining provinces of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and returned with a great booty to *Ireland*. These disturbances affected some, that do not appear to have been concerned in them; for the jealousies⁴ of princes in unquiet times, generally extending to all persons, who can be supposed to have the same views and interests with such as have embarked openly in a cause; *Gospatric* and *Merleswain*, two potent noblemen of the north, out of an apprehension either for themselves, or for *Edgar Atheling*, that they might be clapped up in prison, as others were, carried him with his mother *Agatha*, and his sisters *Margaret* and *Christina*, by sea to *Scotland*, where they were well received by *Malcolm*, and passed all the winter.

THE *Northumbrians*, a people ever restless and ripe for insurrections, did not long remain quiet, after the submission or flight of their nobility, and the retreat of the *Norman* army. *William* having appointed⁵ *Robert de Cumin*, earl or governor of the county of *Durham*, sent him, with about seven hundred soldiers, to take possession of his government, and maintain the peace of the country. When he drew near the city, bishop *Agelwin* met him, and advised him to be upon his guard against any sudden attempt of the people; to whom his coming was by no means grateful. *Robert*, full of pride, confidence, and presumption, slighted this advice, and imagining that the people would bear any thing, without daring to attack him, suffered his

¹ *Ib.* p. 511.² *Chron. Johannis Abbat Petriburg.*³ *Flor. Wig.*⁴ *Flor. Wig. Hoveden.*⁵ *Ord. Vital. p. 512. M. Paris. Alured Beverl.*

men, when he entered *Durham*, to stroll about and commit what hostilities they pleased; so that not only many of the citizens were slain, as well as plundered, but several also of the country people. This beginning of ill treatment gave a general alarm¹ to the *Northumbrians*: and assembling in great numbers, they broke into the city in the dawn of the morning, fell upon the *Normans* with great fury, putting all they met to the sword; attacked the bishop's palace where *Robert* was lodged, and not being able to force it, through the vigorous defence made by him and his followers, set it on fire, burning all that were within; so that all parts of the town were filled with blood, and of seven hundred men, that the governor brought with him, scarce above one escaped. This slaughter of the *Normans*, which was committed on *January 28*, animating the people of *York* to the like attempts, they fell upon *Robert Fitz Richard*, governor of the castle, and slew him with a good number of his followers. The castle however still held out, and was well defended by *William Malet* against the forces which some noblemen of the county, elated by these successes, had raised to attack it; though not being able to hold out long, he sent to court for immediate relief. The king, upon this advice, marched with great expedition to *York*; routed the besiegers with great slaughter, giving no quarter in his fury: and having staid a week there to erect another fortress, and strengthened it with a proper garrison, returned to keep his *Easter* at *Winchester*. On his departure the *English* attacked both the castles: but were repulsed.

A. D. 1069.

In the midst of these tumults, which were so general that scarce any part of *England*² was free from continual rapines, slaughters, and desolations, or afforded a safe abode to the *Normans*, *William* took care to send his wife *Maude* back into *Normandie*. Thither also repaired several of the *Norman* warriors; whose wives, not daring to come over whilst the nation was in such a ferment, pressed their return in the strongest manner. The king, to keep them here, offered them lands, and promised them more, when he had got the better, and cleared the realm of his adversaries: but nothing could engage *Hugh de Grentemesnil* and *Humfrey de Tillul*, governors of *Winchester* and *Hastings*, with many others, to stay; a step which being taken in a juncture when he stood most in need of their service, was so resented by their prince, that he confiscated their estates, nor could their heirs prevail with him to be restored to the honours they quitted.

The good reception which *Edgar Atheling* found in *Scotland*, and the marriage of his sister *Margaret* with king *Malcolm*, drew thither abundance of the *English* nobility, who had either been turned out of their estates, or were discontented with the *Norman* government: and gave great encouragement to their friends in *England*. Others had retired to *Denmark*, and solicited *Swein*, king of that country, to send a body of *Danes* to second the efforts, which the *English* were resolved by a general concert to make for throwing off the heavy yoke of the *Normans*. The like application was made to *Ireland*: and had the attempts from these several quarters been made at the same time, they might possibly have proved successful; but succeeding, as they did, one another, they were all in their turns defeated. The first was made by the sons of *Harold*; who coming again with a fleet³ from *Ireland*, landed, about the middle of *June*, at the mouth of the *Tawe*, in the north of *Devonshire*: but being worsted in several actions by *Brian*, son of *Eudo*, count of *Bretagne*, with the loss of one thousand and seven hundred of their men, and some *Irish* chieftains; they were glad to make their retreat by night, and return home with the remains of their forces. Not long after, the *Danish* fleet of two hundred and forty sail, sent by *Swein*, under the command of his brother earl *Osbern*, to assist the *English*, and having his two sons *Harold* and *Canute* on board,

¹ *Sim. Dun. Howeden.*² *Ord. Vital. ib.*³ *Flor. Wig. Ord. Vital. p. 513. Gul. Gemet. l. vi. c. 40.*

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1069.

appeared off the eastern coast of *England*: and landing a body of men at *Dover* and *Sandwich*, met with a repulse in both places. The *Danes* next made a descent at *Ipswich* in *Suffolf*, and ravaged the country; but being worsted in some engagements in that county, and near *Norwich*, were forced to re-imbark: and met with the same fate in *Lincolnshire*, where they afterwards landed. But coming¹ at the latter end of *August* to the mouth of the *Humber*, they were there joined by *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheof*, *Gospatric*, *Merleswain*, *Adelin*, *Siward Bearn*, and other noblemen, with a fleet, and a body of land forces from *Scotland*: and passing up the river, were still further reinforced by the troops, which *Gaius*, *Marius*, *Archill*, and others, had raised in *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*. With this united force they advanced to form the siege of *York*: the news of which, with a dismal apprehension of the ruin of his country, put, on *September 11*, an end to the life of archbishop *Aldred*: and coming before the town eight days after, they became masters thereof, and of the two fortresses the same day, by means of an unexpected accident. The *Norman* garrisons, considering the city as not tenable by reason of the disaffection of the inhabitants, applied themselves onely to the defence of the castles: and as these might be incommoded by some houses that lay near them, and would probably be made use of by the *Danes* to fill up the ditches, they set them on fire, not intending any further mischief; but the flames spreading, the whole city was burnt, with the cathedral and monastery of *St. Peter*.

THIS disaster surprizing them, occasioned an horrible confusion, and the *Danes* breaking in, whilst the flames were still raging, attacked the castles, in conjunction with the citizens, made desperate by the loss of all their substance, with so much fury, that they carried them both; and put three thousand *Normans* to the sword; *Malet* the governor, with his wife and two children, *Gilbert de Gand*, and a very few others of the best rank, being all that were spared. With these prisoners, a great treasure, and a vast booty of all kinds, the *Danes* retired to their ships in the *Humber*.

THE king, upon advice of this disaster, put himself immediately at the head of his army: and² marched with great expedition into the north; giving, by his march into so remote a quarter of the realm, a favourable opportunity to the discontented in other parts to execute their designs of an insurrection. They accordingly seized it: and, animated by *William's* absence, the *English* in *Somerset* and *Devonshire* rose in arms, and besieged *Montacute*; but were defeated by the chief justiciary *Geffrey*, bishop of *Coutances*, who attacked them at the head of the *London*, *Hants*, and *Wiltshire* forces. *Edric* the forrester, a gallant warrior, very powerful by his vassals and interest in the county of *Salop* and the marches of *Wales*, being assisted by a body of *Welsh* and *Cheshiremen*, invested *Shrewsbury*: but finding the place too strong by its situation and fortifications to be easily taken, drew off his forces, and quitted the enterprize. *William Fitz Osbern* and earl *Brient* advanced to the relief of the town: but finding the siege raised, and the enemy retired, did not amuse themselves in seeking him out; their assistance appearing much more necessary in another quarter. The defeat of the *Dorset* and *Somerset* insurgents had not discouraged their neighbours of *Devon* and *Cornwall* from rising and investing *Exeter*: it was the danger of this city, the most considerable of any in the west, which made the two *Norman* generals so hastily quit *Salop*, and advance to its succour. But before they came up to the place, they found the siege likewise raised by the bravery and fidelity of the citizens; who not content with defending their walls, had, in a vigorous sally, slain so many of the besiegers, that they were forced to retire, and soon after dispersed; such were the good effects of that generous

¹ *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. Chr. 7. Abb. Petrib. Annal. Waverl.*

² *Ord. Vital. p. 514.*

clemency, which *William* had shewn the inhabitants of this city, after their late insurrection. It was about this time, that *Turolde* a foreigner¹, whom, on *Brando's* decease, the king had made abbot of *Peterborough*, was taken, and all his soldiers cut in pieces by *Hereward*: but this chieftain, notwithstanding his wonderful strength of body, his undaunted courage, perfect intrepidity, enterprizing genius, and great reputation, never could get a body of forces together, sufficient to make the face of an army, or capable of overturning a government; so that all he could do, was to harraß the *Normans* in the country of the *East-Angles*, and in the shires bordering on the *Fens*, and the *Isle of Ely*; which serving him for a fortress, he made his head quarters. There were many of these petty insurrections, which caused a great deal of blood to be shed in all parts: but they contributed little to decide the fate of the nation. The case would probably have been very different, had *Edwin* and *Morcar* taken the field, and put themselves at the head of the malecontents: but they, either selfish enough to be sensible only of their private wrongs and particular grievances, without any regard to those of the nation, or still persisting in their aversion or envy to *Edgar Atbeling*, whose person was so agreeable to the people of *England*, and whose right to the crown, supported by an alliance with *Scotland*, the assistance of *Denmark*, and the efforts of most of the northern nobility, seemed likely to take place, and put him in possession of the throne; or else perhaps out of a dread of *William's* power and good fortune, and to recommend themselves to his favour and confidence, by their conduct in a juncture that put every one's fidelity to a trial, kept themselves quiet all the time of this insurrection.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1069.

WILLIAM, in his march to the north, had an opportunity² of routing one of those smaller bodies of malecontents at *Stafford*: and the counts of *Mortain* and *Eu*, whom he employed to take care of *Lindsey*, cut off a party of *Danes*; who had landed in that country, and roved about for plunder in great security, thinking it destitute of all defence. The king, in the mean time, continued his march towards *York*, with great eagerness, to prevent the *Danes* keeping their *Christmas* in that city: but was stopped three weeks at *Pontefract* by the depth of the water, which washeth the place, and appeared unpassable, till *Lisais*, one of his officers, discovering a ford, the army at last got over the river. Upon his approach to *York*, the *Danes* quitted it; and retired to their fleet in the *Humber*; leaving the defence of the place to *Waltheof* and the *Northumbrians*. This retreat of theirs is, by *Florence of Worcester*, ascribed³ to the influence of *English* money, and the corruption of the *Danish* general, count *Osbern*, whom *William* bribed to that step by the present of a large sum, and the offers of leave for him to plunder the sea coast for victuals to subsist his forces, and of quartering them where he saw convenient; provided he would return home without a battle, or further hostilities, when winter was over. This account is fully confirmed by the circumstances which followed *Osbern's* retreat; for having quartered his troops between the *Ouse*⁴ and the *Trent*, and remained there all the winter unmolested, he returned the year following, about *Midsummer*, to *Denmark*; where he soon felt his brother's indignation; *Swein* disgracing and banishing him for his corruption, and deserting the *Northumbrians*.

It was now an easy matter for *William* to reduce them thus deserted; they being in no condition to make head in the field against a royal army of veteran soldiers: all they could do, was to make a stand at *York*, and defend the place, which they did with great resolution and bravery. The king tried at first to take it by force,

¹ *Guntton's Hist. of Peterbur.* p. 17. *Chron. Johannis Abb. S. Pet. de Burgo.*

² *Ord. Vital. ib.*

³ *Sim. Dunelm. De gest. reg. an. 1069.*

⁴ *Chr. Sax. an. 1069. Sim. Dun. an. 1070.*

WILLIAM
1.
A. D. 1069.

and made several fruitless assaults; in one of which it is observed of *Waltheof*, that he planted himself in the breach, which did not allow several to enter at a time, and as the *Normans* attempted to mount it, he cleft abundance of them down, one by one, with his battle-ax; shewing himself the true heir of his father *Siward's* strength and courage. The siege was turned ¹ into a blockade: and *York*, impregnable by force, yielded at last to famine; the defendants, in want of provisions, being obliged to surrender the town and castles to the *Conqueror*; who in admiration of *Waltheof's* valour, and to gain him ² over to his interests, not only confirmed him in his former possessions, particularly the earldom of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*, but gave him likewise other lands, with his niece *Judith* in marriage. *William*, having repaired the fortifications of the castles of *York*, erected some fortresses on the *Humber*, and placed good governors with garrisons in them all, advanced into the country between ³ the *Tees* and *Tyne*: which he found a mere desert; the inhabitants being fled away through the woods, or lurking in the mountains. The bishop and his clergy had carried away *St. Cuthbert's* shrine from *Durham*; and when the king came thither, he found none but poor, infirm, and sick people in the place: being pleased however with its situation, he built a strong castle there for defence of the country; and *Gospatric* coming thither to make his submission, he thought it politic to gain over so a great a man to his party, and accordingly received him into favour. He ⁴ marched from thence to *Hexham*, through terrible roads and over hills covered with snow; abundance of horses dying of the fatigue; his troops suffering great hardships in the march; and he himself being, through the mistakes of the guides, who knew not where they were, lost in the night, with six persons only in company. It was perhaps this taste or experience of the nature of the country, which induced him to grant, for a sum of money ⁵, the earldom of *Northumberland*, then a scene of great disorders, to *Gospatric*; whose mother *Algitha* was daughter to earl *Uchtred* formerly mentioned, and who not long after his return southward, in the beginning of the year following, did him good service in that command. For *Malcolm* having raised an army of his subjects, too late to succour his allies in *England*, and fallen upon the bishoprick of *Durham* ⁶, making horrible ravages in *Tesdale*, *Cleveland*, and the parts adjacent; *Gospatric*, to make a diversion, entered *Cumberland* (through which the other had passed in this expedition, and which was part of his territories) and having made great depredations there, retired with his booty to *Bamburg*: where he fortified himself, and by frequent sallies from time to time, weakened the enemies forces to such a degree, that *Malcolm* was forced to retire home in a rage; which put him upon treating the *English* cruelly, and carrying vast numbers away captive. It was during this expedition of *Malcolm*, that *Edgar Atheling*, *Marleswein*, *Siward Barn*, and other nobles, who had hitherto staid with the *Danish* forces, seeing their inactivity, and being convinced of *Osbern's* agreement with *William*, thought fit to quit them: and getting aboard their ships returned to *Scotland* ⁷, after touching in their way at the port of *Wiremouth*.

A. D. 1070.
WILLIAM resolving to pass his *Christmas* at *York*, sent for his crown and other *Regalia* ⁸ from *Winchester*, that he might keep the festival, and hold his court, with the usual pomp and solemnity. During his stay there he made several wise regulations for securing the peace of those parts; confiscated the estates of the nobility and gentry, who had been in arms, and had not made their submission; and sent detachments of his army every way to waste the country and destroy all provisions north of the *Humber*, that no foreign enemy or body of forces whatever, which could

¹ *W. M. lmsb.* l. iii.

² *Ingulf.* anno 1056.

Chron. Walter. de Hemingford, c. 4. *Brompton*, p. 966.

³ *Sim. Dun.*

⁴ *Ord. Vital.* p. 515.

⁷ *H. Hunt. Hoveden. Sim. Dun. &c.*

⁵ *Sim. Dun.* anno 1072.

⁶ *Sim. Dun.*

⁸ *Ord. Vital.* p. 514, 515.

le got together, might be able to find subsistence. His orders were executed with the utmost vigour; strange cruelties committed upon the innocent as well as guilty; houses burnt, and even the tools of husbandry destroyed: as if the land was never to be tilled again, and the people were to be forced into foreign parts to seek for a livelihood. Such havock was made in this devastation, that between *York* and *Durham*¹, there was not a village inhabited: the ground for above sixty miles in length remained untilled for nine years; the country was a perfect desert, and served only for the dens of beasts, and receptacles of robbers. The more southern parts of *Yorkshire* suffered in the same manner; and in the *East Riding* both man and beast were destroyed, except such as took sanctuary in the church of *St. John* of *Beverley*; the privileges whereof were confirmed by the *Conqueror*; who, out of reverence to the saint, made presents and grants of land to the church, and without violating any of its rites, withdrew his forces. All sorts of wholesome or usual food being destroyed, there ensued such an horrible famine in those parts, that, *Ordericus* says, an hundred thousand persons of all ages and both sexes perished in it: it was a shocking spectacle to see multitudes lye upon the ground unburied for want of hands; and for near two years, the few survivors were forced to eat horses, dogs, cats, and even human flesh, to keep themselves from starving. These devastations drove vast numbers of the common people into *Scotland*, to the better peopling and cultivating of the Lowlands: abundance also of the *English* gentry, whose estates were confiscated, or who could not bear the *Norman* yoke, retired thither to settle in the country, and found a kind protector in queen *Margaret*; whose husband *Malcolm* gave many of them lands of good value; and from these several of the most ancient and best families in that kingdom derive their original².

THE king, some time after the holidays, marched with his army from *York* against the *Welsh* and *Cheeshire* forces, that, under the command of *Edric Silvaticus* had besieged *Shrewsbury*, and continued still in a body unsuppressed. He had mountainous and deep countries to pass through in his way to attack them: and his men underwent such hardships in this expedition, that his soldiers of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Bretagne* desired to be dismissed. Regardless of their complaints, he still went on, ordering his faithful troops to follow him: and at last got his forces over dangerous rocks and through miry valleys, with incredible labour, to *Chester*. *William* shewed the generosity of his nature and the nobleness of courage and virtue in nothing more, than in loving and honouring them in his enemies: he considered *Edric*, as the life and soul that animated his party; and resolved to make a friend of a man, whom he esteemed for his bravery, military skill, and other great qualities. Nor could he have taken a more useful step; for *Edric* being encouraged to make his submission, the commotion in those parts of *Mercia* was immediately quelled: and so³ easily is a friendship created between great minds, that the king treated him ever after with an entire confidence, and *Edric* lived to do him eminent services. To prevent any future disturbance in that quarter of the realm, *William* built castles at *Chester* and *Stafford*: and having supplied them with good garrisons, marched to *Salisbury*; where he dismissed his soldiers, that had served well, with honourable rewards, but kept those that were ready to mutiny and desert him, forty days longer by way of punishment. From thence he went to keep his *Easter* at *Winchester*, where the crown was put on his head by *Hermentroy*, bishop of *Sion*, and the cardinals *John* and *Peter*, the pope's legates, and

¹ *W. Malmsb. Chy. Sax. Sim. Dun. Hoveden. Flor. Ifig.* ² *Lesly* bishop of *Ross* has given a long list of these in his book *De origine & gestis Scottorum.* ³ *Flor. Ifig.*

WILLIAM the first of this character, that ever pretended to exercise any jurisdiction in
1. *England*.

A. D. 1070.

Stigand and the English prelates deprived by the Popes's legates.

XI. NOTHING establisheth a precarious government, like an unsuccessful attempt to ruine it: *William's* had been hitherto in a ticklish situation, but he now found it settled on a firm foundation. He had suppressed an insurrection, that spread itself into most parts of the kingdom, and had been very formidable in the north: he had made it impracticable for some years to raise any other in this quarter, by the desolation to which he had reduced the country; he had provided against the raising of any in other parts, by the strong castles, which he had either erected himself in the most convenient situations, and had secured by proper garrisons, or had encouraged his *Norman* lords to erect upon their territories. He had broke the power of the *English* nobility by the confiscation of most of their estates, and had by their ruin aggrandized his foreign followers, whom he rewarded with their lands, and put into all offices of trust and power. There was no power left in the nation, that either dared to dispute his will, or was able to oppose his force: and he saw himself absolute master of the kingdom. In these circumstances, he thought himself at liberty to take some steps, which it would have been dangerous to have taken earlier: and he ventured to disoblige the clergy, who had hitherto been his friends, and a principal means of his easy getting possession of the throne of *England*. The first he took of this kind was, the seizing not only of all the riches and valuable effects, which the *English*, during the late troubles, had lodged in the religious houses throughout the kingdom, as a safe and inviolable repository; but even the charters, chalices, shrines, and treasures belonging to the monasteries themselves. This he is said to have done by the advice of *William Fitz Osbern* earl of *Hereford*, who soon after lost his life in an action in *Flanders*; but it was certainly agreeable to his own inclinations, and the resolution he had formed of never trusting the *English*¹, and of depressing them as much as possible. It was perhaps this design of his which made him suspect them all, and to resolve, particularly with regard to the monks and clergy, who had given him no offence by their conduct, unless perhaps by lamenting the miseries of their country, that none of them should ever be promoted to any dignity. Preferments are matters of grace and favour, and a prince may dispose of them to whom he pleaseth: but it was certainly a great injustice to deprive the most considerable prelates of their sees and abbeys, for no offence, either contrary to the laws of the land or the canons of the church, and merely because they were *Englishmen*. This however was what *William* resolved to do, and to begin with *Stigand*, archbishop of *Canterbury*.

THIS prelate seems to have been of noble birth, perhaps of *Danish* race; for the bulk of his vast possessions lay in the country of the *East-Angles*, and (as appears from *Domesday* book) he had, before the conquest, the best estate of any man in *England*, except *Harold* and *Edwin*. He was not so much versed in the knowledge of books, as he was of men; learning not being the favourite taste or distinguishing character of the *English* in those days: but he had great natural parts, improved by reflection, exercise, and experience, and directed by a clear head and solid judgment. His capacity², magnanimity, firmness, and prudence are generally acknowledged: he was artful, insinuating, persuasive, and (as far as can be judged by what is recorded of his actions) generous, and magnificent. He knew the world, and understood business perfectly well; wanted no talents to qualify him

¹ *Eng. Hist. Sim. Dun. Annal. Havert. Alured. Rev. &c. Chron. Scot.* p. 114. *Chr. H. Thorne*, col. 1787. ² *H. Almain*, l. iii. ³ *Antiq. Britan.* c. 32. *Hist. Ellen.* l. ii. c. 41.

for the transacting of great affairs, and was very *adroit* in managing the humours of persons: and (to mention what made him most obnoxious to the *Conqueror*, and was the real source of all that prince's jealousy and persecution of him) he was a true *Englismen*, very zealous for the interests of his country, of which he had deserved very well, and in which by his large fortune, abilities, reputation, dignity, and character, he had a mighty influence over persons of all ranks and stations. He had been chaplain to *Edward the Confessor*; over whom he had so great an ascendant, that, when all his nobility had failed in their application, he prevailed with him to make an accommodation with *Godwin*, and consent to the expulsion of the *Norman* prelates and nobility. It was ¹ this king that either made him bishop, or (if he had been so appointed in the reign of *Harold* the son of *Canute*) restored him to the possession of the see of the *East-Angles*, and that translated him afterwards to that of *Winchester*. Upon *Robert's* being banished by the sentence of a great council of the prelates and nobility of the nation, *Stigand* was promoted to the see of *Canterbury*, to the great indignation of the monks; who could not ² bear that a *secular* clergyman should be advanced to the highest dignity in the church; and who, being the only writers of those times, mixing their passions with their writings, and painting the virtues and vices of persons in what colours they pleased, according to the degree of favour or prejudice wherein they stood with them, have, on that account, loaded his memory with some reproaches, which he seems to have deserved as little as many of their favourites, and others who bear fairer characters in history. His retaining the see of *Winchester*, after he had taken possession of *Canterbury*, hath furnished those writers with a pretence (for there doth not appear any other ground) to charge him with avarice; though his conduct in that respect may be fairly accounted for in another manner, and from his known principles. He had an heart entirely *English*, and exerted himself on all occasions to advance the *English* interest; learning was then at a very low ebb in this country, and very few of the clergy understood so much as ³ grammar: and this was the pretence, if not the reason, for filling so many sees and abbeys with foreigners. *Stigand*, a wise and sagacious prelate, saw plainly the inconveniencies of this method: and dreaded the dangers to which his country, in its situation at that time, might be exposed by such a multitude of strangers, whose talents, revenues, and dignities, put them at the head of all affairs, and gave them a mighty influence in all councils both in church and state; as the nation in general discovered soon after by fatal experience at the conquest. For this reason, when abbeys fell vacant, and proper subjects to be put at their head did not readily offer among the natives, he made use of his credit with the king to keep the administration thereof in his own hands for a short time, till he could fill them with *Englismen*, truly affected to the interest of their country: such were *Turstan* and *Egelsin*, whom he made abbots of *Ely* and *St. Augustine's* in *Canterbury*; as sufficiently appears from their conduct in the time of the *Conqueror*. That money was not so much his view in this point, may appear from his employing the revenues, which he received during the vacancies, for the ornament, honour, and benefit of those monasteries; for *Thorne* ⁴ owns, he was a benefactor to *St. Augustine's*; and the many sumptuous presents which he made to *Ely* ⁵ were in a manner inestimable.

He might perhaps have the like view, in holding the see of *Winchester* jointly with that of *Canterbury*: and he did nothing therein but what was warranted by venerable examples in the church of *England*; it being too much the practice in those days for one person to hold several prelacies⁶. So *Leofric*, abbot of *Peter-*

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¹ Diet. f. iv.
Hist. l. ii. c. 41.² Geruaf. Acta, col. 1652.
⁶ Chr. Sax. an. 1066.³ Malmesb. l. iii.⁴ Col. 1785.⁵ Hist.

WILLIAM
1.
A. D. 1070.

borough, nephew to the great earl of *Mercia* of the same name, held likewise with it the abbeys of *Burton*, *Coventry*, *Thorney*, and *Croyland*: so *St. Dunstan* held the sees of *Worcester* and *London* together; and his three successors in the former of those sees, *St. Oswald*, *Adulf*, and *Wulfstan* held it for a series of above sixty years with the archbishoprick of *York*¹; and *Aldred*, who crowned *William*, would fain have held them both (as he had done *Hereford* with *Worcester*) if he might have been permitted; and he yet retained twelve manors of the see, when he was forced to resign *Worcester*. It must be observed further, that the occasion of *Stigand's* continuing to hold *Winchester* was, his being named to *Canterbury* upon the exile of his predecessor, and whilst *Robert* was yet living; till whose death, he probably acted in this last see as administrator only. *Robert* was banished at the latter end of the² summer, A. D. 1052, and fled abroad for fear of a worse treatment: he went afterwards to *Rome*, to complain of the hardship done him, and to interest the Pope in his quarrel. How long he staid there, is uncertain; but considering the delays of that court, that *Leo IX* died in *April* 1054, and that after the see had been a year vacant, *Nicetor II* was chosen in the year following, it is likely enough that he would not depart till he had tried what this last Pope would do in his behalf. His application proving fruitless, he returned to his native country of *Normandie*: and died (according to the author of *Neustria Pia*) in the abbey of *Jumièges*, of which he had been formerly abbot, in the beginning of the year 1058, probably on *May* 26, which is celebrated in that abbey, to which he was a benefactor, as his anniversary. *Benedict X* had been elected to the papacy on the fifth of the precedent month, and continued in possession³ of it without a rival, till the beginning of the year following, when he was deposed for intruding into the see without the emperor's mandate, and *Nicholas II* was chosen in his stead; so that nothing was more natural than for *Stigand*, coming in that interval of time to the full possession of the see of *Canterbury*, to apply for his pall, as perhaps some others did, to the onely Pope that was then in being; and whatever is to be said of some other acts, there could be no occasion to repeat such as were merely honorary; especially⁴ since *Benedict* acquiescing readily in his deposition, and submitting himself to his successor, none of his acts were ever rescinded or declared invalid.

HOWEVER naturally this affair of the pall may be accounted for in this manner; it is not so easy to explain another point in relation to *Stigand*, and to shew how he came to⁵ continue in the same favour and credit with *Harold*, as he had enjoyed before with *Edward*. There is no room to doubt of the fact: nor would there be any difficulty in the matter, if what *William* of *Poictiers* and *Ordericus Vitalis* say, were true, that he put the crown on *Harold's* head: but this is contradicted by our old *English* historians, and even by *Ingulf*; who unanimously assert that *Harold* was crowned by *Aldred*. Whether those two foreign historians, unacquainted perhaps with the *English* customs, might not mistake (as other foreigners have done in the like cases) *Stigand's* putting the crown upon his head, after he had been some time in the exercise of his royalty, at one of the feasts of *Easter* or *Whitsunday* (which was constantly done to our kings with great solemnity at the three chief festivals) for his first coronation, must be left to conjecture. But as it was certainly the archbishop of *Canterbury's* right to put the crown upon the king's head on all these occasions, it cannot be supposed that *Harold* should apply to *Aldred* for performing that office, till he had first been refused by *Stigand*; who was undoubtedly in the way at that time, since he⁶ signs as a witness to *Edward's* charter to *Westminster-Abbey*. Such a refusal indeed doth honour to his character, and must give

¹ Stubb's *Acta Pont. Ebor.* col. 1700, 1701, 1702.
an. 1058.

⁴ *Ib.* an. 1059.

⁵ *Hist. Eliev.* l. ii. c. 41.

² *Gervaf. Cant.* col. 1657.

³ *Conrad. Act. Pont. rom.*

⁶ *Baron. Annal.*

every body a great opinion of the virtue, integrity, and constancy of the man: but it leaves us at a loss to account for his credit with *Harold*; unless by supposing either that he performed that ceremony at one of the feasts subsequent to the *Epi-*
phany (when that prince was crowned by *Aldred*, and got into possession of the throne) and consequently after *Edgar Atheling's* acknowledgment of *Harold*, or acquiescence in the usurpation; or that the usurper, in the precarious condition of his affairs, thought it prudent to smother his resentment of the affront, and to make his court to a person of *Stigand's* dignity, power, and interest in the nation. However this was, *Stigand* was certainly very hearty in his endeavours, after *Harold's* death, to set *Edgar Atheling* on the throne, and to oppose the duke of *Normandie*: and *William Thorne's* ¹ story of the transaction at *Swannescombe* is founded upon the well-known aversion, which this prelate and abbot *Egelfin* had to the *Norman* government. They were both the object of the *Conqueror's* jealousy and hatred, notwithstanding their peaceable demeanor for some years; till *Egelfin* seeing it impossible to get over them ², fled about this time to *Denmark*: and *William*, after carrying *Stigand* over into *Normandie*, keeping him in his sight, and watching him for the same time, resolved (now his government was firmly settled, and he had no longer any measures to keep with the *English*) to have him deprived of his see, and another put into it, in whom he had an entire confidence.

THE *English* bishops had ever entertained the profoundest veneration for their primate: and from the time that the *Christian* religion had been received in this nation, there had not been a ³ single precedent of a prosecution, much less of a deprivation, of an archbishop of *Canterbury*. The forms of proceedings were in such a case to be borrowed from the practice of other countries: and notwithstanding that most of the prelates were foreigners, it was still uncertain, whether they could be brought to degrade a primate to whom they had all sworn canonical obedience; and to sacrifice the constitution of the church to the king's passions. There was no pretence for charging *Stigand* with any offence against the canons and usages of the church of *England*: and to pass the severest of censures upon their acknowledged superior, without some legal pretence or other, was too much, to be expected from a synod of *English* prelates; at least without the terror of the regal power, and such pressing solicitations on *William's* part, as would be a flat contradiction⁴ to his great professions of friendship to *Stigand*, and repeated assurances of his protection. It was not politick to irritate a prelate of his dignity, capacity, authority, and credit, without ruining him and putting it out of his power to revenge the injury: and if he made the attempt, it behoved him of all things to make it successful. *William*, resolved to ruine *Stigand*, and making all laws divine and human give way to his will, took his measures effectually for that purpose: and carried his point in such a manner, as to have a pretence for laying the blame upon another; though the method he took, trampling on all the rights, and destroying the independency, of the church of *England*, could never have succeeded, if it had not been supported by the absolute power of a conqueror, and the dread of a foreign army, which had so lately subdued the nation.

He had formerly tried the like method with success in *Normandie*: *Manger*, archbishop of *Rouen*, uncle to *William* by the half blood, and brother to *William* of *Arques*, who disputed his right to the dutchy⁵, had incensed him extremely by excommunicating him for marrying *Maude*, daughter of *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*, his near relation, contrary to the canons of the church: and had done this, notwithstanding a papal dispensation for the marriage. It was probably this prelate's

¹ Col. 1786.² *Ib.* col. 1787.³ *Eadmer*, p. 29.⁴ *Brompton*, p. 968.⁵ *Gul. Pictav.* l. i. *Ord. Vital.* l. vii. *Hist. des Archev. de Rouen*, c. 45.

WILLIAM¹ vexation, to see his brother's hopes of succeeding to the dutchy destroyed by that match, which put him on so rash a step, as at once to incense his sovereign, and to insult the see of *Rome*; already provoked by the contempt he had shewn her, in refusing to come to the councils of *Rome* and *Reims*, to which he had been summoned by *Leo IX.* This was the more imprudent, because he had, by the irregularity of his life, and by wasting the goods of the church, rendered himself obnoxious to ecclesiastical censures; so that *William* easily prevailed with *Victor II.*, *Leo's* successor, to send *Ermenfroy*, bishop of *Sion*, to preside in the synod of *Lisieux*, *A. D.* 1055; where *Mauger* was condemned, and in virtue of the legate's authority from the Pope, degraded. There was indeed a great difference in the two cases on account of the persons, because no such crime could be objected to *Stigand*: and a much greater with regard to the power and regularity of the judicature, because the papal authority had never been received and exercised in *England*, as it had in *Normandie*. But *William* had no other method to take: and was sure of bringing the court of *Rome* into his measures, were it only for the sake of introducing the papal jurisdiction into this kingdom. It was probably what he had undertaken, when he engaged *Alexander II.* in his interests, and got him to denounce his censures against all that stood by *Harold*: for what the *Norman* historians say of his promising that Pope to hold the crown of *England* of him, in case he succeeded in his enterprize, can be understood only of a subjection in spirituals, not in temporals; since in his letter to Pope *Gregory VII.*, he expressly denies that he ever made any promise of fealty. Whether he had engaged, or designed before, to establish the papal jurisdiction here; he now found it would be subservient to his purposes, and resolved to introduce it into this kingdom: it had been exercised in the neighbouring countries on the continent, and risen there to a great height upon the ruins of the liberties of their churches; and he was now become so absolute a master of his realm, that he was sure of making it be submitted to in *England*.

ERMENFROY was thought the fittest person to be charged with the execution of an enterprize, which the court of *Rome* had equally at heart with the king of *England*; the former being to gain as much advantage by it, as the latter could propose security to his government. He was now to serve *William* in the deprivation of *Stigand*, as he had done in that of *Mauger*: and was sent over with the cardinals, *John* and *Peter*, deputed by Pope *Alexander II.*, as his legates, to take proper measures in the affair, and be ready to exert the papal claims of authority, whenever that prince should think it convenient¹. They had waited here a year² before there happened a favourable juncture, in which the attempt might be made with safety: but the *Conqueror* having at last quelled the northern insurrection, and entirely subdued all his enemies, the legates issued out writs, summoning the bishops to bring the abbots of their diocese with them to a council³, which was to meet three days after *Easter*, at *Winchester*. It was necessary to find out some pretext for their proceedings; a matter of no great difficulty with the court of *Rome*, ever fruitful in expedients for executing its purpose: and in defect of any other crime, it was objected to *Stigand*, that he had retained the see of *Winchester*⁴, together with that of *Canterbury*, as well after, as before his predecessor's death; that he had wore *Robert's* pall, when he officiated in this last church; and that he had re-

¹ *Ord. Vital.* p. 516.

² They seem to have been kept here two years, before they durst execute their design; for the cardinals, *John* and *Peter*, sign as witnesses to *William's* charter, granting *St. Martins Le Grand* to the

church of *Westminster*, dated *June 5.* 2 *H. Conq.* *A. D.* 1068.

³ *MSS. Fr. Junii in Bibl. Bodl.* n. 99.

⁴ *Brompton*, col. 967.

ceived his own pall from *Benedict* X, who had been declared an invader of the pa-
 pacy. Some writers say, that he had on this last account been suspended by Pope *Alexander*; but this was an act that might more naturally be expected from his predecessor *Nicholas*, than from him: and nothing of that kind appearing, it seems plainly a mistake, grounded upon, or deduced by inference from, the censures denounced in *Alexander's* bull at the time of the conquest, in favour of the duke of *Normandie*, not against *Stigand* in particular, but against all prelates and others that supported *Harold*, and opposed *William*. The first of the pretences above-mentioned, hath been already shewn to be too agreeable to the practice and usages of *England*, to be made a crime there: and if they had another notion of it at *Rome*, the utmost penalty inflicted for it was, to oblige the pluralist to quit his former bishoprick, as was done in the case of *Aldred*; who, before he got his pall for *York*, was obliged to promise he would resign his see of *Worcester*. The second, if really supported by any fact, was yet a mere trifle; the wearing of an honorary vestment, first indulged by the favour of princes to the bishops of *Rome*, and by their canal communicated to other metropolitans: a matter which seems in itself as little to merit deprivation, as the wearing of a scarf, for which he is not legally qualified, would now in an ordinary clergyman. But the great stress was laid upon the last article; with how little reason hath been shewed already: it may be proper however to observe, that Pope *Nicholas* never objected to *Stigand* the receiving of the pall from his rival, or predecessor *Benedict*; that *Stigand* was universally acknowledged and submitted to by all the *English* bishops, even by the primitive and disinterested *Wulfstan*, as their rightful primate¹, before the conquest, without the least scruple, and his acts of jurisdiction at that time served for a warrant to *Anselm's* afterwards; and that *Alexander* himself had no objection to him in those days upon this account; for he took no exception to *Aldred's* swearing (as all other *English* bishops did) canonical obedience to him²; and *Wulfstan*, when he was consecrated bishop of *Worcester*, *A. D.* 1062, made his profession of the like obedience to *Stigand*, in the presence of that very Pope's legates, of which this very *Ermenfrid*, who presided in this synod of *Winchester*, was one, without any reprimand from them, or objection on that account: and so undoubted was *Stigand's* right to this obedience, that *Alfred*, having consecrated *Wulfstan*, was obliged at his instance to profess before the king, and all the nobility of the kingdom, that he claimed no ecclesiastical right or obedience from *Wulfstan*, either on account of his being consecrated by him, or having been his monk before. It is very plain, that *William*, after his accession to the throne, acknowledged him as the rightful primate of all *England*³, and treated him agreeably to that character: nor had he any notion of there being the least defect in his consecration, or right to the see of *Canterbury*, till afterwards. Every thing conspires to shew that these pretences were framed in the court of *Rome*, in order to give a colour of justice to the proceedings against *Stigand*; though the king's passions, the security of his government, and the interests of the papacy had caused it to be previously resolved to condemn him at any rate: and the monkish writers of the succeeding age, and others who copy from them, devoted to that see, and living under its subjection, have taken care to convey them down to future times, without any examination or censure, and even without entering into any detail of the proceedings.

It doth not appear from them, whether the council, which sat on the octaves of *Easter*, took any cognizance of the affair, or discussed these articles; whether *Stigand* was heard in his defence, or so much as present, when he was deposed; though it

¹ *Endm.*, p. 23. ² *Sim. Dun. De gest. reg. an.* 1062. *Fler. Wig. Stubbs*, col. 1701. *Brompton*, col. 952. *Wooden*, p. 445. ³ *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 1. *Chron. Walteri de Hemingford*, c. 2.

WILLIAM is clear from *Brompton*¹ and *Malmesbury*, that he was forth-coming: or whether this was done by the intervention, sentence, or concurrence of the council. All that they say of the matter is, that he was deposed at that time, by Pope *Alexander*, as *Gervase*² of *Canterbury*, and *Malmesbury*³ express themselves: or by the Pope's legates, as *Ingulf*, the *Chronicle of Mailross*, and *Ordericus Vitalis* say; all which different writers may be reconciled by understanding them in the sense which *Florence of Worcester* and *Hoveden* deliver more distinctly; affirming that he was deprived by the legates, with the consent and by the authority of Pope *Alexander*. These accounts seem to exclude the council from any share in the sentence, and the members of it probably were glad to have no concern in it; though the legates, for the greater solemnity of the affair, and in defect of any other consistory, thought fit to pronounce it in the presence of an assembly of prelates, called together by their writs, contrary to the laws and constitution of the church of *England*. That this was the case, appears further from *Stigand's* demanding *William's* protection, according to his solemn repeated promises, and that prince's apology for himself, that it was purely the *Pope's*⁵ doing, whose mandates he could not oppose. What little regard was had to justice in this affair, may reasonably be judged, from the king's immediately seizing all *Stigand's* vast estate in the *East-Angles* and other part of the kingdom, and keeping him in prison the rest of his days upon a very scanty allowance out of the exchequer. The author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* thinks he died of want; but the time of his decease is not particularly mentioned, though *Malmesbury* seems to hint it was about the time of *Lanfranc's* taking possession of his see: it is generally agreed, that he did not long survive his disgrace, and with him expired the liberties of the people, and the independency of the church of *England*.

WILLIAM's jealousy was not satisfied by the removal of *Stigand*: he resolved to turn all the *English* prelates out of their dignities, and fill up their sees and abacies with *Normans*. There were at this time in *England* only four bishops, that were natives of the country, all the rest being foreigners: a circumstance, which will make people less wonder, either at the conduct of the clergy, when *William* invaded the kingdom, or that the papal power was now admitted. These four were *Agelmare* bishop of *Elmbam*, *Agelric* of *Selesey*, *Wulstan* of *Worcester*, and *Egelwin* of *Durham*. Of these, *Agelmare* was deprived at the same⁶ time with his brother *Stigand*, and by the same arbitrary and usurped authority; as well as several abbots of the most considerable monasteries; it being unreasonable to suppose that the council, which seems only to have been called for form's sake, and the members whercof were all trembling with apprehensions of the same fate, should join in doing so flagrant an injustice to the most eminent prelates, "without (as all historians agree) any apparent cause, without being guilty of any act condemned either by councils, the canons of the church, or the laws of the land." However unjust or invalid these sentences of the *papal* legates were, the civil power with the like injustice and violence took care to put them effectually in execution; *William* immediately imprisoning all the deprived prelates, keeping them confined all their lives, and filling their prelacies with *Normans*. The cardinals *John* and *Peter* having thus dispatched the principal part of their legation, returned to *Rome*.

¹ P. 968.
Pont. l. i.

² Col. 1310.

³ *De gest.*

⁴ In the synod of *Lisieux* *Ermenfray* pronounced the sentence of deprivation against *Mauger*, in virtue of the apostolical authority of the holy see without taking any notice of the synod's; which I

conceive to be an usual practice in the like cases, the Popes probably thinking it below them to have any other authority joined with their own, as they were both co-ordinate.

⁵ See *Fadmer*, p. 29. a *falso Papa*.

⁶ *Flor. Hist.* *Sim. Dun.* *Hoveden*.

⁷ *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquerant par Eadmer*, vol. i. p. 120.

leaving the bishop of *Sion* behind, to finish what was further to be done for the enslaving of *England* to a foreign and papal power; a work which was carried on with great expedition. For the king keeping the feast of *Pentecost* at *Windsor*, on which occasion he was constantly attended by his prelates and nobility, named, on *Whitsunday*, *Thomas*, a canon of *Bayeux*, to the see of *York*; and *Walcbelin* one of his *Norman* chaplains, to that of *Winchester*; and the former being reserved, in honour of the see of *Canterbury*, for the consecration of *Stigand's* successor, the latter was upon the *Sunday* following consecrated by *Ermenfrey*. This legate holding the next day what is called a synod, proceeded in the same arbitrary and uncanonical manner; depriving, without any fault or accusation, *Agelric*, bishop of *Selsey*, and abundance of abbots. *William*, according to his custom, imprisoned all that were thus degraded, to prevent any opposition to the sentence: and filled up the sees of the *South-Saxons* and *East-Angles* with his chaplains *Stigand* and *Erfast*, as he did the abbacies with *Norman* monks. There were now only two *Englishmen* left among the bishops; of whom *Wulstan* was one, a man of primitive simplicity, and not of this world; for which reason he was charged with insufficiency, and it was proposed to turn him out of his see: but he was saved, either on that account, or by his resolute sustaining the rights of it, and bold demand of the twelve manors, which had been dismembered from it by *Aldred*, or rather by his zeal for monkery, in all the practices whereof he was extremely austere, and because he was deemed incapable of giving any disturbance. *Egelwin* bishop of *Durham*, not able to bear the tyranny of foreigners, was fled, after he had excommunicated the *Norman* soldiers concerned in the plunder of his church; and on that account had been banished or proscribed; but being taken the next year at *Ely*¹, was kept in prison all his life at *Abingdon* or *Westminster*, and his see given to *Walcherus*, a canon of *Liege* and native of the *Lower Lorraine*, who took possession of it in *March A. D. 1071*, before his predecessor was taken. Such was the violent and illegal manner, in which the church of *England* was subjected to the see of *Rome*: and such the first exercise of the *papal* jurisdiction in this kingdom.

WILLIAM
I.

A. D. 1070.

XII. THE filling the see of *Canterbury* with a proper person, able and ready to execute all his commands, was a point of the greatest consequence: and the king had one in his view for it; of whose spirit, vigour, talents, wisdom, and attachment he had a great opinion, and in whom he placed an entire confidence. This was *Lanfranc*, a native of *Pavie* in the dutchy of *Milan*; who being bred to letters, and having made a great progress in most parts of² learning, had settled in his youth at *Bec* in *Normandie*, and set up a logic lecture in that monastery; where his reputation rose so high, that he had great numbers of the most considerable persons of that age and country for his scholars. He distinguished himself there by his writings against *Berengarius* archdeacon of *Angers*; who (if we may believe his adversaries) had by his doctrines reduced *Christ's* presence in the *Eucharist* to an empty sign, and afterwards fell into another extreme, *impanation*: and who being condemned in a synod at *Rome* held under *Nicholas II*, was forced to make a retraction³ according to the form directed by that Pope and synod; wherein he professed to believe, “that the elements, after consecration are not only the sacrament, but the very body and blood of *Christ*” (*i. e.* both the sign and the thing signified) and “that this body and blood of *Christ* is sensibly, not only in the sacrament, but in truth handled and broken by the hand of the priest, and bruised by

Lanfranc
made arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

¹ *H. Hunt. l. 7. Sim. Dum. M. Paris, an. 1070. Sim. Dum. Hist. Eccl. Dur. c. 59.* ² *It. Lanfranc. inter opera Ord. It. p. 19.* ³ *Anal. Parm. A. l. 1059. c. 13.*

WILLIAM I. “the teeth of the faithful.” Such was the doctrine which the church of Rome introduced at this time, and which, though in one part it plainly asserts the oral manducation afterwards condemned; and in another looks like *consubstantiation*; having been since cooked up in another manner, hath been called *transubstantiation*. This doctrine, which hath been the source of numberless disputes, was first introduced into *England* by *Lanfranc*: who set his chaplain *Osbern* to write the legends or lives of several prelates, full of senseless pretended miracles, contrived in an age of ignorance and credulity, to recommend it to the belief or reception of the *English*. *Lanfranc* was prior of the abbey of *Bec*, when he was sent by the duke of *Normandie* to *Rome*, to transact the affair of his marriage with *Matilda*, who was related to him within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity: and he managed it so well, that *William* made him abbot of the monastery of *S. Stephen* at *Caen*, which he was obliged to found, as his wife did the nunnery of *St. Trinity*, upon the grant of a dispensation on that occasion. He had conceived a great esteem for this prelate: and consulted him in all his affairs with such success, and so continual an experience of his capacity, judgment, and affection, that he was not satisfied, till he had fixed him in the see of *Canterbury*¹. He was there consecrated by eight bishops on *August* 29: and *Thomas* named to the see of *York*, coming thither soon after to receive consecration from his hands, went away without it, for want of making upon oath a profession of his obedience to the primate and see of *Canterbury*. It is said to have been the custom for archbishops of *York*, to make it in that manner: but a dispute now arising, it was not determined, till *Lanfranc*, upon *Gregory VII* making it a rule not to send the compliment of a pall to any body that did not appear before him in person to ask it, was obliged to go the year following to *Rome*; and *Thomas* attending him thither, the matter depending upon the usages of this country, was referred to the judgment of an *English* synod. At last, in the synod of *Windsor*, *A. D.* 1072, a sentence was given, something in the nature of a compromise; whereby the rights of the see of *Canterbury* being confirmed², *Lanfranc* dispensed with the oath of *Thomas*; who only delivered his profession in writing, though all his successors were obliged to swear to theirs: and their right of consecrating the new archbishop of *Canterbury*, when the see fell vacant, being affirmed; it was decreed that the archbishops elect of *York*, when presented by the king to that dignity, should repair to *Canterbury* to be there canonically consecrated. *Thomas* likewise gave up all his pretensions to any authority over the dioceses³ of *Worcester*, *Lichfield*, and *Lincoln*: and in his profession of obedience, acknowledged that the archbishops of *York*, with their suffragans, were obliged to obey the mandate of the primate of *Canterbury*, whenever he required them to attend him in a council, wherever it should be summoned.

William's
measures to
make the
clergy of
England de-
pendent.

XIII. WILLIAM probably imagined, when he established the papal power in *England*, that he could always make it subservient to his purposes; and that he could at any time get rid of it with the same ease as he had introduced it: but his successors found it otherwise by fatal experience, and he himself, in a short time, had reason to be on his guard against the Pope's encroachments. He had shewn his firmness formerly in maintaining *Osbern* in possession of the abbey of *St. Evroul* in *Normandie*, against Pope *Alexander's* bulls for restoring *Robert* the former abbot, whom he had outed, and the censures of the two cardinal legates sent to put them in execution: and had declared on that occasion, “that if any monk, who was his subject, should offer to dispute his will, he would cause him to be hanged im-

¹ *Ord. Vit. ib.*

² *Concil. M. Brit. t. i. p. 325.*

³ *Malmesb. De gest. pontif. l. i.*

⁴ *Eudemarc's Hist. de Guil. le Conquer. t. i. p. 172.*

“mediately.” He was very jealous of the rights of his crown: and to secure them as well against the attempts of the court of *Rome*, as the clergy of his own realm, he would not suffer any of his subjects, to acknowledge¹ any one for Pope without his orders, or to receive letters from him, unless they were first shewed to himself; nor any of his prelates to go out of his dominions, upon any papal summons to attend synods at *Rome*, without his express leave and consent. To keep his own ecclesiasticks in order, he would not allow the archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the synods in which he presided, to pass any constitutions or canons, but what were agreeable to his will, and he had first approved or ordered; nor any of his bishops to excommunicate or denounce any ecclesiastical censure against any of his barons or officers for incest, adultery, or other scandalous crimes, without his being previously acquainted therewith, and signifying his permission by a warrant. *Gregory VII*, an enterprizing Pope², zealous to advance the papal power upon the ruins of the civil, complained in vain of these orders, particularly of that which restrained the *English* prelates from repairing to *Rome*, as a failure of respect to that see: he ventured to summon two out of each province to appear at a *Roman* synod, and even required the *Conqueror* to do him homage for the crown of *England*; but his summons were slighted, and his demand absolutely refused. This king had too much spirit and capacity to submit to such demands, and was too much master of his subjects to suffer any inconvenience from his refusal: but some of his successors were forced on occasion to comply; and the disputes they were obliged, in behalf of their regalities, to have with the court of *Rome*, proved a continual source of infinite disorders and mischiefs to the kingdom.

WHOEVER considers the constitution of the church of *England* in the *Saxon* times, and the conduct of her prelates before the conquest, will easily see, that these regulations, made by the *Conqueror*, could not be designed to guard against any inconvenience arising from either: they seem to me plainly calculated for opposing the encroachments of the court of *Rome*, and to have been suggested by the violent measures taken in those days by the Popes, and the *German* prelates adhering to them, to establish their usurpations upon the rights of the *emperors*. But there was one thing in the *Saxon* constitution, which *William* disliked, as rendering the clergy less dependent than he wished them, and lessening the forces of the realm to a greater degree, than was perhaps proper for the good of the nation, or, at least, more than was consistent with the security of his government. They all held their lands and possessions by a different tenure from the laity, called *Frank Almoine*, subject to no secular service, to no rents, duties, or impositions, but what they consented to lay upon themselves in their synods or in the councils of the nation: and their estates, derived from the great bounty of the *Saxon* kings and their nobility, were so very great, that they possessed near a third part of the kingdom: it being computed that they held twenty-eight thousand and fifteen knights fees, out of sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen, into which the whole kingdom³ was, in the *Conqueror's* days, distributed. They had likewise other riches, plate, jewels, treasures of various kinds: and their wealth was continually increasing by new benefactions. All this, with the prodigious number of their vassals, tenants, servants, and other dependants, made them masters of a very great secular power; which added to their ecclesiastical authority, and the veneration paid to their character, gave them a wonderful influence over all sorts of men throughout the nation. They had likewise all the learning of the age, which the less generally it is diffused, is the more admired in the few that have it, and gives them great advantages and weight, on all occasions, of haranguing and discoursing with the people: and being united in all exigencies,

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1070.

¹ *Fadmo*, p. 6.

² *Baron. Annal. A.* 1079.

³ *T. Spotti Chron.* p. 114.

when

WILLIAM I. when the good or danger of the church is in question, or it can be pretended that its interest is affected, they were the chief arbiters in all national disputes; turning the balance on what side they pleased, as appeared at the *conquest*, and hath been since verified by abundant experience. *William*, envious of their riches, jealous of their power, and perhaps suspecting their affections, or apprehensive of a change in their sentiments, resolved to make them dependent on the crown: and with this view reduced all their lands¹ to the common tenure of knights-service and barony. In consequence hereof the king became entitled to the profits of the lands of bishopricks and abbatial manses, during the vacancy of sees and abbacies; the new prelates were obliged to take an oath of fealty, and do homage, before they could be admitted to the possession of their temporalities: and all were subjected to an attendance upon the king in his court of barons, to follow him in his wars with their knights and *quota* of soldiers, to pay him the usual aids, and to perform all other services, incident to such a tenure. A roll was drawn up, specifying the quantity of fees held by each bishop and abbey, and the number of knights and soldiers they were to furnish the crown upon any invasion, war, or insurrection: and was laid up in the exchequer, for a rule to the judges, in suits and prosecutions about the non-performance of the appointed services, and, as *M. Paris* says, for a monument of ecclesiastical servitude. The clergy in general exclaimed horribly against this new institution, as a manifest injustice, a shameful indignity offered to their order, and even as an impious violation of the sacred rights of the church; but all in vain; they found no redress or mitigation; the *Conqueror's* will was irresistible, and such as attempted to oppose it, were banished the kingdom.

Feudal law
and tenures
established.

XIV. THIS oppressive treatment of the prelates, and great change in the condition of the whole body of the clergy, which might in another juncture have set the nation in a flame, produced no disturbance at a time, when a general insurrection was just quelled: and it took place with the less difficulty, because the laity were pleased, to see the clergy reduced to hold their lands upon the same footing with themselves. The chief of these last, who governed all the rest, had such vast estates given them, consisting of so many hundreds of manors, that what they had in *Normandie* was but a trifle in comparison with their *English* territories, and they might well be glad to accept them upon any conditions. ² *William Fitz-Osbern* had the *Isle of Wight*, as well as the earldom of *Hereford*; and *Walter de Lacey*, lord of *Ewyas*, had great possessions in the marches of *South-Wales*, in order to enable them to repress the incursions of the *Welsh*: which they did effectually by invading *Brecknockshire*, and routing their princes *Rbees*, *Cadowgan*, and *Meredith*. For a like reason, *Glerbode*, and, upon his captivity in *Flanders*, *Hugh d'Avranches*, a man very corpulent, but active, and always at the head of his troops, had the county palatine of *Chester* given him; as *Roger de Montgomery* had that of *Salop*, to make head against the princes of *North-Wales*. *Walter Giffard*, count of *Longueville*, was made earl of *Bucks*; *William de Warrene*, of *Surrey*; and *Ralph de Guader*, of the *East-Angles*: *Odo de Champayne*, nephew of *Thibaut*, count of *Bleis* and *Chartres*, married the countess of *Aumale*, the king's sister, and had the county of *Holderness*; and that of *Cornwall* was granted to *Robert*, count of *Mortain*, half-brother to the *Conqueror*. *Geffrey*, bishop of *Contances*, was made justiciary of *England*, and had two hundred and eighty manors given him, which he disposed of to his nephew *Robert de Mowbray*: and with the like bountiful grants of lands, honours, and offices, were all the principal *Normans* rewarded at this time for their services. The forfeitures of *Edwin*, *Morcar*, and *Waltbeof* did not indeed happen

¹ *M. Paris*, *A. D.* 1070.

² *Ord. l'it.* p. 522.

till a year or two afterwards; and when these were disposed of to *Alan Fergant*, count of *Brctagne*, and others, all the lands in the kingdom (except some considerable parcels belonging to such *English* as had been, in the *Confessor's* reign, employed in the management of the crown lands and revenue, and were necessarily to be continued afterwards in the same employments) became vested in the hands of foreigners; who holding them immediately of the crown, granted them out either to their own followers, or to such of the natives¹, as having enjoyed them before in property, had the good fortune to recommend themselves to their favour, and were content to hold them in vassalage. These lands were all held in the same manner as their estates in *Normandie*, where the feudal law prevailed in all its rigour; subject to the like forfeitures, and descending in the same course and order of succession: and that law being now introduced here, laid the foundation² of what is now called the *common law* of *England*, the terms of which are all *French*; it being, at least so far as relates to estates and tenures, evidently derived from the *Norman* customs.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1070.

By these customs, the barons, holding immediately of the crown, had all kinds of jurisdiction in their own manors; they gave laws and administered justice in their courts baron, to their vassals, tenants, and all that lived within them: suits between the tenants of different lords were tried in the hundred or county courts, and the king's court took cognizance only of those between the barons themselves. In all these courts the judges were now *Normans*; the lawyers were so too, and, in consequence thereof, all the pleadings were made in the *French* language. It is easy from hence to imagine, how little redress could be expected by the *English*, if they attempted to complain of the oppressions, depredations, inhumanities, and other grievances which they suffered³ continually from the great *Norman* lords and the lesser castellans; of which our old historians give an uniform and melancholy account.

XV. THIS insupportable usage, naturally to be expected from the insolent, oppressive, and rapacious temper of the *Normans*, made the *English* weary of their lives⁴; and their hardships being represented to the *Conqueror* by *Guismund*, a pious monk, afterwards cardinal and archbishop of *Aversa*, and by some prelates⁵, particularly *Frederick*, abbot of *St. Albans*; he consented to allow them the benefit of some of the old laws, by which they were governed in the reign of *Edward the Confessor*. These laws or customs, at least the first fifty thereof, which were carried to *Croyland*⁶ by *Ingulf*, are chiefly penal laws⁷, fixing forfeitures, fines, and amercements in criminal matters, and the rates of reliefs or mortuaries due to superior lords: and seem, with the rest (either relating to some *Saxon* usages in the points of harbouring guests, vouchers for goods sold, and distresses, or regulating the succession of intestate estates, and the payment of *Peter-pence*) to have been established for the sake of the *English*. The others, to the number of one and twenty, passed in a great council at *London*, and preserved in the *red book of the Exchequer*, are most of them calculated for the *Normans*, and other foreigners possessed of the lands of *England*; declaring "all the freeholders of the realm exempt from all tallage and "unjust exactions, and bound only to the usual services due from the lands, as settled in a common council of the kingdom, upon the king's making them grants "thereof in the way of inheritance; but obliging them likewise, as well as the

William's
measures to
keep the
English quiet.

¹ *Dialog. de Scaccario.* ² *Spelm. Gloss.*
fol. 218, and *Reliq. Spelm. Hist. Eliens.* l. ii.
c. 44. ³ *Ib.* ⁴ *Ord. Vit.* p. 523.

⁵ *Al. Paris in Vit. Frederici.*

⁶ See *Lambard. Archaion &c.* seq. 159. *Ingulf.*

⁷ As appears likewise from the charter of *Henry I.*

who pardoning all murders before his coronation, provides also, that all to be committed afterwards should be amerced according to the law of king *Edward*, which he re-established with his father's emendations. *M. Paris, A. D. 1100.*

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1070.

“ knights and barons, to take an oath of fealty to the king, to be always ready with
“ arms and horses to do the service incident to their fees, and to unite together like
“ sworn brothers, with all their power and fortunes, to support his government, to
“ maintain the peace and dignity of the crown, and to defend the kingdom. The
“ rest seem designed for the common benefit both of *French* and *English*, and to
“ promote a good correspondence between them: taking both under protection,
“ forbidding all injustice, and settling the methods of accusation and purgation in
“ suits between them; providing for the peace of the realm by appointing watch
“ and ward to be kept throughout it; and encouraging the commerce thereof, by
“ the regulation of weights and measures, by the prohibition of buying and sel-
“ ling, except with vouchers, and in cities, walled towns and castles, where markets
“ and fairs were held; and by securing the freedom of slaves who had lived a year
“ and a day in those places of trade, without being reclaimed by their masters.”

THESE were followed by other measures which the king took at this time, as well to secure the peace of the country, as to reconcile the *English* to his government. Of the first kind was his ordinance, that all the common people in the country towns and villages should put out their fire and candle, and go to bed at seven a clock, upon the ringing of a bell, called the *couvre feu bell*, on pain of death¹; a regulation, which having been made in an assembly of the estates of *Normandie* at *Caen*, in *A. D.* 1061, to prevent the debauches, disorders, and other mischiefs frequently committed in the night, had been practised with good success in that country. Of the latter kind were, his care for the administration of justice in the ancient courts of the kingdom, and preservation of the borough law; his promoting marriages between the *Normans* and the *English*; his preventing the open rapines and oppressions of the one, and the insidious revenge of the other, and his affecting to learn *English*, in order to be better informed of the grievances of the country: but though he took a good deal of pains in this last respect, he was forced to give the attempt over; being too far advanced in years to be able to master the language.

His care of
the crown re-
venue.

XVI. IT appears from the rolls of the services due from the lands of the prelates and other ecclesiasticks, being entered of record in the exchequer; that this court² was now erected, for examining and passing the accompts of all officers employed in collecting the revenue of the crown; for determining all actions relating to it; and for punishing, as well the exactions and irregular proceedings of those officers, as the delays and defaults of debtors in their payments. This revenue consisted of several branches, besides the old demesne lands, which were reserved for supplying the king's household with oxen, sheep, corn, hay, and all sorts of provision, according to the nature of the lands, and in the quantities necessary; the overplus remaining being compounded for in money. One was a kind of land-tax, called *Hidage*, first levied in the *Saxon* times on account of the *Danes*, and for that reason termed *Danegelt*; but collected (as appears from *Domesday book*³) in *William's* time as an ordinary tax, in all appearance at the rate of twelve pence, as settled by the laws of *Edward the Confessor*. There was also a quit-rent⁴ paid before the *conquest*, out of all the lands of the subject throughout the kingdom: and continued likewise upon the knights fees established afterwards. Another branch lay in the profits of wardship, reliefs, and fines; as well for livery of hereditary lands, assignation of dower, licenses of marriage, and leave to sue in the king's court, generally termed *Oblata*; as of a penal nature, for marrying without

¹ *Du Moulin*, p. 160.

² The dialogue of the exchequer says, it was erected from the time of the conquest, and upon

the plan of a like court in *Normandie*.

³ C. 12.

⁴ *Dial. de Scacc.* See *Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer*.

license,

license, and other misdemeanors, which amounted to large sums; besides the forfeitures, mulcts, and pecuniary penalties, with which all sorts of crimes were before, and for some time after, the *conquest*, punished. There were likewise an infinite number of tolls and customs paid for passage, pontage, freedom of markets and fairs, protection in going and returning, liberty of buying and selling; besides the duties laid upon merchandize, or paid for leave to enter or go out of the ports of the kingdom. These general branches, with the occasional aids due from the fees of those who held of the crown by knights service, and the tallages that the king had it in his power to levy upon the soccage tenants in his own demesnes, and upon the trading towns of the realm, produced an immense revenue to *William*. *Ordericus*¹ says, that setting aside the *Oblata*, fines, and forfeitures, he had one thousand and sixty pounds sterling, thirty shillings, and three half-pence every day in the year; which amounting to above three hundred eighty-seven thousand pounds a year, and a pound at that time, not being barely so in denomination, but a pound of silver in weight, his annual fixed income in rents must be computed at three times that value: and considering the price of things in those days in comparison with what it is now, may reasonably be deemed worth now at least ten times more than that higher valuation. Besides this revenue, he had a standing army to defend his realm, without any charge issuing out of his exchequer; having so distributed or settled the lands of the kingdom, that he had constantly sixty thousand knights under his command, ready to follow him in any expedition whatever.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1070.

XVII. THIS mighty standing army, and immense revenue, did not put an end to all *William's* apprehensions of disturbances being raised in *England*: he was not easy as long as there was any of the *English* nobility left in the nation, capable of heading an insurrection. Such were *Edwin* and *Morcar*, whose peaceable conduct, during the late troubles, had not gained them his friendship: and either out of a suspicion of their disaffection, entertained by himself, or suggested (as *Ordericus*² says) by his *Norman* counsellors, who wanted to share in the confiscation of their estates, or in pursuance of a maxim adopted by politicians, which puts them upon guarding themselves, as well against such as have it in their power, as those that have it in their will, to hurt them, he resolved to seize upon their persons. The two brothers, apprized of their danger, fled from court, to avoid an imprisonment, which they had reason to fear would not end but with their lives: *Edwin* retiring probably to his own estate in *Richmondshire*, and *Morcar* to the *Isle of Ely*, a place, in those days, of great strength by its natural situation; where his uncle *Hereward* was at the head of a small party of resolute men, and had been joined by *Siuward Barn*, and *Agelwin* bishop of *Durham*, with some followers from *Scotland*. The king was not without apprehensions, that *Edwin* might call in the forces of *Scotland* and *Denmark* to his succour; but thought it necessary to provide against the nearest danger; which might, if neglected, increase by the popularity of *Morcar*, to a formidable degree in the middle of his realm: and resolving to improve the summer, in which season only it was practicable to attack the isle with any hopes of success, marched thither immediately with his army. It was more difficult to approach the malecontents, than it was afterwards to reduce them: and *William* having built a strong fort at *Wisbech*, blocked up the isle with his forces, and beleaguered it on the east with a great number of flat-bottomed boats, made on the westside a causeway or bridge over the fens for two miles in length, with incredible labour and diligence. This was done with such expedition, as both surprized and terrified his enemies; who being thus deprived of their defence, despaired of

A. D. 1071.
Insurrection
of English
supported by
the king of
Scotland.

¹ *Ord. Vital.* p. 523.

² *Ib.* p. 521.

WILLIAM being able to make further resistance¹: and the monks of the convent, being distressed by the king's seizing their lands which lay out of the isle, they all agreed to submit to his mercy; except *Hereward*, who bravely fought his way through the *Normans*, and escaped with his followers. This intrepid warrior still maintained a footing, and carried on a sort of piratical war in those parts, till *A. D.* 1076, when having taken *Ivo Taillebois*², the *Conqueror* sister's son, who possessed that part of *Hereward's* estate which lay in the *Holland* division of *Lincolnshire*, he made terms, for the ransom of his prisoner, with *William* (who admired him for his invincible courage and daring actions) had his pardon, and was restored to his estate. The monks of *Ely* paid a thousand marks for the restitution of their land: *Aigewin*, *Morcar*, and some others were imprisoned for life; and the rest, having had their hands cut off, and their eyes put out, were suffered to go at liberty. *Ordericus*³ clears both the brothers from any ill design, and *Morcar* from any share in the rebellion: and represents it as a breach of faith, to condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, after he had been by the assurances of the faithless messengers, which the king sent to him, trappanned into a voluntary surrender, trusting to his innocence. It was this usage, which (as the same historian adds) made *Edwin* resolve to revenge it, or to get his brother's liberty: and having with that view, for six months together, solicited the *English*, *Scots*, and *Welsh* to join him, was at length betrayed to the *Normans*, by some of his own followers, three brothers, whom he most trusted, and generally employed in his affairs. He was on the road (perhaps towards *Scotland*) with a small party of twenty horse, when he was on a sudden attacked by a much superior body of *Normans*; against whom however he would have made good his retreat, if the tide swelling a river had not hindered him from passing it: but that means of safety failing, he was slain with all his followers after a brave defence. He was the handsomest man of his time: and being universally beloved, his death was lamented by the *Normans* and *French*, as well as by all the *English*. *William* is said to have wept on the occasion: and whatever benefit he derived from the treachery, he did an act agreeable to all the world, in banishing the traytors, that had contrived his murder.

THE king was now freed from all his apprehensions of disturbances in *England*: but as what most encouraged them, was the expectation of assistance from *Scotland*, and *Malcolm*⁴ had actually fallen upon the northern provinces, and made terrible havock on the borders, he resolved to march thither with a strong army, and to secure himself on that side, either by peace or victory. *Malcolm*, being by *Edwin's* death deprived of all hopes of any insurrection in *England*, or of being joined by any body of discontented *English*, thought fit, upon *William's* advance into the north, to retire home, to raise more forces, and act on the defensive. *William*, after a long, difficult, and fatiguing march, advanced with his forces into the borders of *Scotland* (probably into *Nithisdale*) where he found the *Scotch* army well entrenched and posted to great advantage: and encamped his own near them, as well to refresh his men after their fatigue, as to observe the countenance, and discover the condition and motions of the enemy. The two armies lay facing one another for some days, prepared for action, yet not eager to begin an attack: which could not well be done by either, without some disadvantage; they being not much unequal either in the number or bravery of their forces. Both kings were valiant and warlike, had been trained up in arms, and inured to dangers: but were wise too, and considered well the uncertainty of the event of a battle, and the fatal consequences, which the loss of it might produce. These reflections occasioned a

¹ *Hist. Eliens. Bibl. Cotton. Titus, A. 1.*

² *Ib.* p. 521.

³ *Sim. Dun.* col. 203.

⁴ *Gimton's Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 262.

treaty; which ended in a peace¹, concluded upon equal conditions, unless in the articles of homage, which *Malcolm* was obliged to pay, and of the hostages which he delivered to *William*. It is not easy to ascertain on what account this homage was paid, *William* being at this time possessed of all *Cumberland*, which he had some time before divided between *Ranulf*, *Galfrid*, and *William de Meschines*: the first of which, having founded a pretty town at *Carlisle*², the king coming thither in his return, liked the place, and fortified it strongly for the defence of the country. *Northumberland* too was in his hands; for he now took it away from *Gospatric*, whom he suspected of intelligence with *Edwin* and the *Scots*: and gave the earldom of it to *Waltbeof*; upon which the former retiring to *Scotland*, had the earldom of *Dunbar* given him by *Malcolm*; and was afterwards infeoffed of all *Allerdale* by *Ranulf de Meschines*, and of some other lands by the *Conqueror*. *Fordun*³ says, that *Malcolm* did this homage for twelve towns or manors which he had in *England*, but doth not mention where they lay: it was however in all probability on that account; or else for the *Lothians*, which had been granted to his predecessors by *Edgar*, upon that condition. The hostages were probably given for the performance of some of the articles on *Malcolm's* part, perhaps that relating to *Edgar Atheling*; who was to return home, make his submission to *William*, and renounce his claim to the crown, being in that case to be restored to his former possessions, and to be supplied for life with an honourable maintenance. This was executed the year following, when *Edgar*, coming to the king in *Normandie*, was received with kindness, and had a mark a day settled upon him: but such was the easy simplicity (as *Malmesbury*⁴ observes) of this last of the *Saxon* line of princes, that taking a fancy to a fine horse of *William's*, he purchased it by the surrender of his pension.

WILLIAM

I.

A. D. 1071.

A. D. 1073.

XVIII. THE peace with *Malcolm* restoring tranquillity to *England*, and destroying all the hopes which the discontented *English* might entertain of being able to shake off or distress *William's* government, he took the opportunity, which this calm season of security afforded him, to visit his foreign dominions; being called thither by a revolt of the *Manceaux*. *Hebert*, count of *le Mainé*, had been so harassed by *Geoffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, who was continually ravaging his country in order to subdue it, that he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the duke of *Normandie*: and owning him for his lord, declared him also his heir, in case he died without children. *Hebert*, at his death, having no issue, renewed this declaration: but the nobility of the country, not liking to be under the *Norman* government, invited and received for their lord, *Walter* count of *Mante* and *Pontoise*, who had married *Biota*, the eldest sister of *Hebert's* father; and put him in possession of *le Mans*, with all the rest of the province. *William*, with a great army, entered the country, took several places, and at last *le Mans*, after an obstinate defence: but *Godefroy* of *Mayenne*, supported by others of the noblesse, did not suffer him to have a quiet possession, either of the town or country, till his castles of *Hambieres* and *Mayenne* were taken; when he was obliged with the rest to submit to the *Conqueror*. To reconcile the people of the province to his government, and promote an union between them and the *Normans*, *William* proposed a marriage between his eldest son *Robert*, and *Margaret*, sister to the late count *Hebert*; whom he sent for from *Germany*, whither she had retired: but this lady died before *Robert* was of age to marry. This happened about three or four years before the conquest of *England*: and the province had from that time remained quiet in its subjection to *William*, till this year; when *Fulk*, count of *Anjou*, having some pre-

William recovers le Maine.

¹ Chron. Walt. Hemingford, c. 6. Annal. Waverl.² Scotchchron. l. v. c. 16.³ Malmesb. l. iii.⁴ Gibson's Camd. Brit. p. 1059.

WILLIAM I. ^{1.}
A. D. 1073. tensions to the county, in the right of his wife *Herembourg*, daughter of *Helie*, late count of *Maine*, spirited up the people to a revolt. The town and citadel of *le Mans* were taken: and *Godfrey de Mayenne*, with most of the gentry, joining in the insurrection, the *Normans* were entirely driven out of the country.

WILLIAM I., upon advice of this revolt, passed the sea with a great army, composed of *English*, which made up fifty thousand men, when reinforced by some levies which he made in *Normandie*: and after he had reduced the castles of *Fresnay*, *Beaumont le Vicomte*, and *Silly*, coming before the capital, threatened to burn the town, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, if they offered to make any resistance. The townsmen of *le Mans*, terrified with his menaces, surrendered the place the next day: and being pardoned, the whole country followed their example. *Fulk*, unable of himself to oppose the united forces of *England* and *Normandie*, applied to *Hoel* count of *Bretagne*, for assistance: and at the head of a brave army of *Bretons* and *Angevins*, invested *la Fleche*, the lord of which place was in alliance with *William*. This prince advancing to the relief of the town, and both armies being ready to engage, two cardinals, then in the country, interposed with their mediation to prevent a battle: and a peace was made at *Bruyeres* with *Anjou*, upon the rebels on each side being pardoned, and *Fulk's* quitting to the *Conqueror's* son *Robert* all his pretensions to *le Maine*, except the right of homage, which *Robert* did to him immediately.

THE valour of the *English* in this war is much celebrated by our old historians, who lament on that occasion the ill-fated employment of it in the subduing of foreign countries, when they had declined exerting it in defence of their liberties, and had shewed so much poorness of spirit in tamely submitting to a foreign yoke at the time of the conquest. They had now the honour to be employed in conquering for a man, that had enslaved their country; that had stripped them of all their estates, and destroyed, banished, or reduced their nobility to a state of vassalage under his own followers: and yet in this abject state of theirs at home, they were ridiculously fond of making a figure abroad; and found an odd sort of vanity gratified, in fighting for the particular interests of their enslaver, in triumphing over the independence of other countries, and in making acquisitions to increase his foreign dominions, even at the expence of their own blood and treasure. *England*, happy in her situation, if she knew how to be content with, and make a right use of, its advantages, had ever hitherto enjoyed the benefit of being an island; had always lived in peace and amity with all her neighbours; had never, from the time she became a nation, been embarked in any foreign war upon the continent: and thus at liberty to carry on her commerce with all the world, had heaped up those immense riches; which, though they were the source of the luxury, debauchery, and corruption, that fitted the nation for slavery, at the time of the conquest, were, at the same time, the amazement of foreigners. This expedition into *le Maine*, the natural effect of her being under a foreign prince, whose patrimonial dominions lay on the continent, was the first essay of the *English* arms abroad, and the beginning of those foreign wars, which, for the space of near four hundred years, as long as the kings of *England* had any territories beyond sea, were a continual drain to the treasure of the nation, and brought upon it terrible calamities of various kinds; besides the loss of infinite numbers of the bravest of her youth, slain in the pursuit of foreign conquests, or in the defence of foreign dominions.

A. D. 1074.
 Conspiracy of
 the *Normans*
 in *England*.

XIX. WHILST *William* was detained in *Normandie*, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him in *England*, by persons from whom he could least suspect

Ord. Vit. p. 528. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.

it;

it; by some of the great *Normans*, who owed the most to his bounty; but who, either dissatisfied with their share of his favour, or repining at the arbitrary power which he exercised over all that were his subjects, entered into measures for dispossessing him of his kingdom. *William Fitz-Osbern*¹ had left two sons; the elder of which, bearing his father's name, had succeeded to *Breteuil, Passy, Yvry*, and all his lands in *Normandie*: and the younger, named *Roger*, enjoyed all his estate in *England*, with the earldom of *Hereford*. *Roger* had a mind to marry his sister to *Ralph de Guader*, earl of the *East-Angles*; who seems to have been the son of *Ralph*, earl of that country in the *Confessor's* and *Harold's* days, a nobleman of *Danish* race, by a *Breton* heiress; who brought him the castles of *Dol, Guader, Montfort*, and other lands near *Rennes* in *Bretagne*.² The marriage being settled between the parties, *Roger* had applied to the king, before he went over into *Normandie*, for his consent; either by way of compliment to his sovereign, or in compliance with some obligation, which the rigour of the feudal law exacted from a vassal: but met with a flat refusal. The young lady was no heiress to render the superior's consent absolutely necessary: the match went on, and the nuptials were solemnized with great³ pomp at *Exning*, near *New-Market* in *Suffolk*; all their friends being invited, and a great number of bishops, abbots, barons, and military officers being assembled on the occasion. Whether *Roger* and *Ralph* considered *William's* denial, or prohibition, as a stretch of the royal prerogative, or resented it as an intolerable affront to themselves, they resolved to be revenged: and seized the opportunity to embark all the company in their quarrel, particularly *Waltheof*; whose great interest among the *English*, and reputation with all the world for his military skill and valour, rendered him so considerable, that it behoved them above all things to engage him in their party.

WITH this view, they began to open their minds in the jollity of the entertainment; inveighing against *William's* tyrannical government, and recounting various acts of oppression⁴ and cruelty which he had committed in *Normandie*. "They particularly insisted on his banishing *William de Warlenc*, count of *Mortain*, for a single word, and giving his lands and county to *Robert*, his mother *Arlette's* son by *Herluin de Conteville*; his poisoning *Walter*, count of *Mante*, nephew to *Edward the Confessor*, and his wife *Biota*, in *Falaise*, and *Conan*, count of *Bretagne*, at *Vimontier*: and having added to these his usurpation of the crown of *England*, his putting to death and banishing the nobility of the kingdom, stripping them of their estates, and impoverishing all his subjects; represented it as a thing unworthy of men of spirit, courage, and honour, to suffer all this from a bastard, embroiled in foreign wars, and hated by his own children, who were ready to take up arms against him to free themselves from his oppression." The company, warmed with liquor, relished these discourses: and agreeing that *William's* absence afforded them a favourable opportunity to shake off his yoke, hurried on one another to engage in the undertaking. *Waltheof* alone opposing the motion, was offered all the north for his share of the realm; the rest being to be divided between *Ralph* and *Roger*: he still refused his concurrence on account of his great obligations to the *Conqueror*, but promised to keep an inviolable secrecy. Measures were settled for the execution of the enterprize: it was resolved to send to *Denmark*, where *Ralph* had probably many friends and relations, to procure an army of *Danes*; which king *Swein's* known enmity to *William*, and constant resolution to distress him, shewn in his conduct on all former occasions, did not leave them any room to doubt, but would be sent immediately to their assistance. They hoped

¹ *Ord. Vit.* p. 527.
A. D. 1074.

² *Alured. Beverl.* l. ix. *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. Diceto.*

³ *M. Paris,*

⁴ *Ord. Vital.* p. 553.

WILLIAM the more from these succours, because the *Danes* had such numerous alliances in
 I. *England* (a great part of the inhabitants being descended of their blood) that they
 A. D. 1074. could not fail of being well received and joined by the people : and the conspirators
 were all to rise in their several quarters, and unite their forces, when the *Danish*
 fleet appeared off the coast to give strength and reputation to the insurrection.

THESE measures might have succeeded, could they have been executed immediately ; but it was necessary to wait the arrival of the *Danes* ; for which some time was of course to be allowed : and as it depended on the uncertainty of wind and weather, besides other accidents, more might be required than was expected. Hence arose delays, always fatal to conspiracies entrusted to many hands ; in which case, considering the weakness, vanity, unsteadiness, fears, and other passions of human nature in different persons, it is as well impracticable to keep, as unreasonable to expect, secrecy. The conspiracy was discovered before the *Danes* arrived to support it, perhaps by some other of the conspirators, but in the general opinion of writers ¹, by *Waltbeof* ; who, either out of a scruple of conscience, in which he was very delicate, or by the persuasions of his wife, to whom he might perhaps in confidence impart it, and upon whom his ruin is positively charged, revealed the whole design to *Lanfranc* : and by his advice, having done penance for his oath of secrecy, went over to *Normandie* to acquaint the king with it, in full expectation of a pardon for such a seasonable service. Whether this voyage gave any alarm to the conspirators, or the seizure of some of them, by the orders of *Lanfranc* and the two justiciaries, made the rest apprehensive that their plot was discovered ; their chiefs were hurried on to raise their followers, and take the field before the *Danish* succours arrived ². *Roger* put himself on the march with his forces to pass the *Severne* : but was prevented by *Wulstan*, bishop of *Worcester*, *Urso*, high sheriff of the county, *Agelwin*, abbot of *Evesham*, and *Walter de Lacy*, a great baron in *Herefordshire* ; who, apprized of his design, were ready with their troops to oppose his passage of the river. *Ralph*, levying a body of forces in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, advanced to the neighbourhood of *Cambridge* : but being there met by *Odo* and *Geoffrey*, bishops of *Bayeux* and *Coutances*, as our *English* writers say, or, according to *Ordericus*, by *William de Warenne*, and *Richard de Bienfaite*, justiciaries of the realm, was defeated at *Fagadun* ; many of his followers being slain, and abundance of prisoners taken, who had all their right foot cut off, as a punishment for their rebellion. *Ralph Brito* escaped to his own castle ; as *Ralph de Guader* did to *Norwich* ; from whence he went to *Denmark*, in hopes of returning soon with succours, having entrusted the castle to the care of his wife, and put in it a brave governor, with a strong garrison of *Bretons*. The *Danish* fleet of two hundred sail, under the command of *Cnut*, *Swein's* son, and earl *Hacco*, appeared soon after off the coasts : but the commanders, either finding all the measures of the conspirators broke, their party disheartened by the disasters that had happened, and the king's forces assembled in all parts ready to oppose them ; or else bribed by *William's* money ³, for which *Hacco* was banished upon his return home, they either durst not, or would not attempt to make a descent, and retired to the ports of *Flanders*. *Ralph* went from thence to his estate in *Bretagne* ; where his wife and the garrison he had left in *Norwich* came to him soon after, having held out three months, till reduced to extremity by famine, and then made an honourable capitulation for the surrender of the castle ; which was probably granted them out of an apprehension of the *Danes*, and seems to be the onely benefit he derived from their succours.

¹ *Order. Vital.* p. 536.

² *Flor. Wig.*

³ *Malmesb.* t. iii.

WILLIAM had reason at this time to expect some troubles to break out in *Nor-mandie*: but the news of this insurrection, the dread which he always had of the *Danish* power and interest in *England*, and his ignorance, or uncertainty, how deep the conspiracy was laid, and where it would end, made him hasten to return thither. He came over in autumn, and found a ready submission from all the conspirators; who before stood upon their defence, and whom his justiciaries had not dared to attempt, or had not been able to reduce: among whom was *Roger*¹, earl of *Hereford*, who confessed to him the whole affair. Most of these were punished either by hanging, cutting off their hands, or putting out their eyes: but the chiefs being reserved for the judgment of his court, which he held during the festival of *Christmas* at *Westminster*, *Ralph* being absent was sentenced to a perpetual exile, and a forfeiture of his lands and honours. *Roger*, being very nearly related to *William*, and his father's merits pleading strongly for him, was condemned only to the like forfeiture, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure: who would, in all appearance, have enlarged him soon after the *Easter* following, when he sent him a silk waistcoat, a cloth coat embroidered with gold, and a mantle furred with ermines, if the proud earl had not, in the fury of his resentment, thrown them into the fire, in the presence of the bearer, and talked very dishonourably of his prince; who, incensed at this outrageous behaviour, swore he should never have his liberty as long as he lived. There was more difficulty in the case of *Walthcof*, and much more odiousness in the prosecution; it being upon his wife *Judith's*² information that he was accused, not only of being conscious to, but also of favouring, the conspiracy: nor did he make any difficulty of owning that he knew of it; though he maintained, that he had absolutely refused his consent. The judges, appointed to examine his case, met several times at different intervals to hear it, without coming to any determination: *Walthcof* being all the while kept in prison at *Winchester*, where he passed his time in an exemplary manner, like a good *Christian* and true penitent, and *Lanfranc* pleading earnestly in his behalf. But it was his misfortune to be an *Englishman*, and consequently obnoxious to *William's* diffidence and hatred; to have a vast estate, which *Ivo Taillebois* and other *Normans* were eager to share among themselves; and above all, to have a wife that wanted to get rid of him, in order to another match, which she had in view, and exceedingly affected. His innocence (which *Ingulf* vehemently asserts, and was, as he attests, proved by miracles) could not protect him against the malice of his enemies; he was at last condemned to lose his head for not discovering the conspiracy against the king's life: and after a long confinement was taken out of prison very early in the morning, on *April* 29, by the *Normans*, who dreaded his escape; carried out of the walls of *Winchester* before people were up, and beheaded on an hill, where *St. Giles's* church was soon after erected. He was the last *Englishman* that retained any power or considerable interest in the nation; his courage and strength of body have been already mentioned: he was big made, yet well shaped; daring, but with judgment; pious, devout, and religious, generous and liberal, charitable to the poor, beneficent to the monks, extremely beloved, and every body wished his freedom. It was this popularity, and the fear of his being rescued, which made his enemies take the precautions abovementioned for his execution. His corpse was at first thrown into a ditch; but in a fortnight afterwards was removed from the place, where it had some earth thrown over it: and was interred honourably in the chapter house of *Croyland*. His relict *Judith* became the abhorrence of all the world: and soon fell unpitied into misfortunes, by incurring the displeasure of her uncle. *William* would have married her to *Simon de Senlis*, a noble *Norman*, lame of a

WILLIAM

I.

A. D. 1074.

A. D. 1075.

¹ *Ord. Vital.* p. 535. *Sim. Dun.*² *Ord. Vital.* p. 536.

William leg; and upon her refusal, either because she despised the man for that imperfection, or perhaps because she was pre-engaged to another, seized her lands, and gave them to *Simon*, with the titles of earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northampton*. *Judith*, dreading the king's wrath, fled with the two daughters which she had by *Waltheof*; was banished about from place to place, every where despised, remaining all the rest of her life a widow, and affected with a continual remorse; whilst *Simon*, marrying her elder daughter *Mutilda*, enjoyed the greatest part of her late husband's estate.

WILLIAM having settled his affairs in *England*, and punished the conspirators whom he had got into his power, passed the sea into *Normandie*, with a resolution to pursue *Ralph de Guader* into *Bretagne*, and ravage his lands in that country. *Dol* was the place which he first attacked, and making no doubt of taking it, swore that he would not rise from before the place, till he had it in his power: but the garrison making a gallant defence, all his efforts were fruitless; and hearing that *Philip*, king of *France*, was advancing to the relief of the town with the united forces of his own kingdom and *Bretagne*, he raised the siege, in which he had lost abundance of men, and retired in such haste, that he left his tents and baggage behind. Finding little likelihood of success in his attempts against *Hoc*, count of *Bretagne*; and to prevent this prince's giving encouragement to the troubles which he apprehended in *Normandie*, he soon after treated with him about a peace: which was concluded at *Bayeux*; the principal article being the marriage of his daughter *Constance* with *Alain Fergant*, *Hoc's* eldest son; which was solemnized at *Caen* with great magnificence.

Councils of
England
1075.

XX. IT was probably, whilst *William* was absent upon this expedition, that the national council, generally ² assigned to *A. D.* 1075, was held at *London*: in which the precedence of bishops was settled according to the priority of their consecration; except with regard to such sees, as had particular privileges annexed to them by ancient custom. It was on this last account, that the archbishop of *York* taking his seat on the right-hand of the primate of *Canterbury*, the bishop of *London* was placed on the left of the latter, and the bishop of *Winchester* on the right of the former: and in this order signed the acts of this synod; which agreeably to the decrees of the councils of *Sardica* and *Laodicea*, provided for the removal of sees from small towns and villages, where bishops, in the *Saxon* times, affected to reside for the sake of retirement, to cities; and expressly enjoined those of *Sherburn*, *Selesey*, and *Lichfield* to be removed to *Salisbury*, *Chichester*, and *Chester*. There is another canon passed in this council, which deserves notice, because it seems to have given occasion to a practice very different from the custom of the *Saxon* times: in which, as may be verified by many instances, the bishops kept their seats in the great councils, and judged in capital cases. It was now ordained, "that no bishop, abbot, or clergyman, should judge any person to the loss of life or limb: or give his vote or countenance to any others for that purpose." To comply with this canon of their own, the prelates have since withdrawn from the house of lords in such cases, entering a protest in favour of their right of sitting.

A. D. 1076.

THERE was another synod ³, held the year following at *Winchester*: in which endeavours were used to introduce the decrees of Pope *Gregory VII*, made in the two precedent years, and forbidding the clergy ⁴ to marry; excommunicating such as did not part with their wives, declaring the cohabiting with them to be fornication, suspending all that did not comply with his decrees from the exercise of

¹ *Ord. Vital.* p. 543, 544.

² *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 363.

³ *Ib.* p. 367.

⁴ *Fl. H.*

Sim. Dun. M. Paris. Dict. an. 1074, 1075.

their function, and prohibiting all the laity from being present at divine service when they officiated. These decrees, calculated not for the honour of religion; but for the aggrandizing of the papacy, the main view of all *Gregory's* measures, by taking the clergy off from all other attachments, but what they had to the papal authority, the monkish writers of those times exclaim vehemently against, as rash, unprimitive, iniquitous, and the source of terrible disorders, mischiefs, and inconveniencies. For the clergy were generally married in other countries of *Europe*, as well as *England*; and these decrees were not established there without strong opposition and warm remonstrances: neither were they received here without some qualifications, notwithstanding the *Pope's* eagerness in pressing their execution. The utmost length the *English* church could be brought to go in this synod was to decree, "that no canon of a cathedral or collegiate church should be suffered to have a wife; that parish priests, having their cures in country villages and castles, should not be allowed to marry, if they were single, though, if they were married already, they were not obliged to part with their wives; and that for the future, the bishops should take care not to ordain any priests or deacons, without taking from them a solemn promise and declaration that they would not marry."

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1076.

XXI. WILLIAM had hitherto been successful in all his enterprizes, and triumphed over all his enemies: the difficulties and dangers he had met with had only served to exercise his wisdom and other great qualities, to increase his empire, to strengthen his power, and to raise his glory. But now a different scene is opening to our view, and we shall see him, in the decline of his life, embroiled in domestic quarrels; which could not bring him any advantage, nor contribute in the least to his glory, to make some amends for the anxiety and uneasiness of mind, which they must necessarily occasion. We shall see him attacked by his own children, opposed by his natural born subjects, and after repeated revolts on their part, and making their native country, the favourite part of his dominions, for some years an horrible scene of disorder, rapine, devastation, and bloodshed, forced to have recourse to strangers, to reduce them to duty and obedience. His eldest son *Robert*, called from his short legs *Gambaran* or *Courtes-buses*, is, by some writers, suspected to have been the secret author of the late revolt of the *Manceaux*, and to have instigated some *Norman* gentlemen to join them, in order to oblige the king his father to put him in possession of the county of *Maine*, and the duchy of *Normandie*, and to content himself with the kingdom of *England*. When the nobility and people of *Maine* made their first submission to *William*, a few years before the conquest, one of the conditions was, that *Robert* should marry *Margaret*, sister to their late count *Hebert*, and in her right enjoy the county. When the Conqueror was at the court of *France*, soliciting succours for his *English* expedition, he had promised, in the presence of king *Philip*, that in case he succeeded in that expedition, and came to be quiet possessor of the crown of *England*, he would resign *Normandie* to *Robert*; which probably was done, in hopes of removing the jealousy and apprehensions, which the *French* council had of one of the vassals of *France* growing too powerful for their monarch to controul. He had afterwards in a fit of sickness, which appeared dangerous, renewed this promise; declared *Robert* his heir; and made the barons of *Normandie* and *Maine* do him homage. *Robert*, after the conquest, at the instigation of those about him, called upon his father to perform these promises: but was put off with pretences of the unsettled state of *England*, the discontents of the nobility, the invasions threatened by the *Danes*, and *Scots*, and other dangers which rendered it necessary for

Rebellion of
Robert Cur-
clief.

WILLIAM I. the king to keep *Normandie* for a sure retreat, in case of any great disaster or revolution in *England*. *Robert* seemed to allow of these reasons for delay, so long as there appeared any disturbances or signs of danger in that kingdom: but when the whole nation was absolutely subdued, the nobility extirpated, and his father's government too firmly established to be shaken by any insurrection at home or attempt from abroad, he grew impatient: and meeting still with delays, imagined that they were to last for ever; not without reason, if what some writers say be true, that *William* told him plainly, "he should not undress himself before he went to bed, and his son ought to wait till after his decease."

ROBERT, as to his person, was full faced, fat, and short, but very robust: as to his qualities and talents, he was imperious, full of ambition, fond of glory to the last degree, unquiet, and restless; eloquent, but talkative; brave, daring, but unsteady; generous in his nature, but lavish in his expences; good-natured, courteous, and obliging to all. He was an excellent archer; very adroit in all the exercises of arms; and his greatest pleasure was to command an army; in which he was thought to surpass all the princes of his time. *William's* second son *Richard*, a young prince of great hopes, had been unfortunately killed by a stag, or the branch of a tree, as he was hunting in the *New-Forest*: but he had still two younger sons, *William*, called from his yellow hair *Rufus*, and *Henry*; who were submissive to their father's will, as depending more absolutely on his favour and bounty for their share in his succession. Whether they had any reason or no to think that their elder brother had a mind to engross it all to himself, they were certainly jealous of his entertaining such a design: and the common circumstances of their condition, and in some respects their common interest, uniting them closely together, that union inspired a like jealousy of them into *Robert*. A small matter made minds thus disposed break out into an open quarrel; which had like to have caused a war between the crowns of *France* and *England*.

A. D. 1077. THE king¹, in an expedition against *Courbon*, stopping at the town of *Richer* (called *l'Aigle*, from an eagle's nest there found in an oak by one *Foubert*, as he was building it) *William* and *Henry*, proud of their father's favour, and willing to shew how little they valued their elder brother, went to the house of *Roger de Cauchois*, where he lodged: and going up stairs to a room that looked over a terras, where he, with some of the principal nobility of *Normandie*, who constantly attended him, were walking; they there first fell to dice, the soldiers diversion, and then to ramps and monkey tricks, making a troublesome noise, and proceeding at last so far, as to throw water designedly upon *Robert* and his company. Whatever was *Rufus's* intention in this proceeding, it could be considered only as a boyish action on the part of young *Henry*: and in this light *Robert* laughed at it, till *Ivo* and *Alberic*, sons of *Hugh de Grente Mesnil*, who had been deprived by the Conqueror of their father's honours and estate in *England*, represented it to him as an intolerable insolence; telling him, it was done on purpose to insult him, and that he was obliged in honour to revenge the affront, if he would not be trampled on and despised by all mankind. This put *Robert* immediately into a fury; and drawing his sword, he mounted with them to the room where his brothers were, whom he attacked: and great mischief would have followed, if their father, upon the noise which this occasioned, had not run hastily from his own quarters at *Gunnier's* house, and put an end to the disorder. Though the quarrel was thus stopped, resentment still fired the breast of *Robert*; and quitting the army in the middle of the night, he went to *Rouen*, with a view of seizing the castle: but was prevented by *Roger de Ivery*, the governor, who suspecting some rebellion, took his

¹ Ord. Vital. p. 545.

measures so well, as to baffle all the designs of *Robert* and his partizans. The king, upon advice of this presumptuous attempt, sent orders to have all concerned in it seized and punished: some accordingly were taken; and the rest flying, were received by *Hugh de Neuf-Chatel* into his castles; from whence they made excursions all over the country. Besides the young *Grente-Mefnils*, *Robert de Belesme*, *Ralph de Conches*, *Robert de Mowbray*, *Robert*, son of *Richard de Bienfaite*, the barons *Des Moulins*, and *de la Perriere*, with the young nobility in general adhered to *Robert*: and had their lands confiscated. The gentlemen of *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, and *Maine* took up arms to engage in the quarrel, without well knowing which party to take: some siding with the son, others with the father; so that the country was horribly wasted during the three or four years that, with some short intervals of accommodation, this unnatural war lasted.

WILLIAM
I.

A. D. 1077.

THE enterprizes and conflicts, which happened in the course of these troubles, are passed over in silence by our old historians: who neglect every thing else, to take notice of that remarkable action at *Gerberoy*; which produced a reconciliation between *William* and *Robert*. *Philip*, king of *France*, envious of the former's glory, jealous of his greatness, and repining at the prosperity of a vassal, now become his equal in power and dignity, was a secret fomentor of their quarrel: and is generally supposed to have had the chief hand in putting the latter upon demanding the principalities of *Maine* and *Normandie*, and in inflaming his discontent at the refusal of that demand. He had encouraged *Robert* by promises of support to assert his claim: and when the quarrel broke out, had given him some assistance; enough to enable him in conjunction with his friends in *Normandie*, where he was well beloved, to keep the war alive; but not sufficient to make him master of the dutchy: *Robert* received likewise supplies of money from his mother, whose favourite he was: which *William* discovering, was highly incensed, and not a little uneasy; scarce knowing, in the embroiled state of his affairs, and in the confused interests and affections of families and relations in a civil war, whom to trust among the *Normans*. In this distress, he brought over a brave army of *English* to reduce and pacify *Normandie*; as he had formerly made use of the *Normans* to conquer *England*. This was a force too great for *Robert* to oppose in the field: nor were the castles, which he and his partizans held in *Normandie*, in a condition to hold out against such a power; so that upon his application to the court of *France* for a place of retreat, where he might be in safety, *Philip*, not caring to come to an open rupture with *William*, engaged the vidame *Helie*, lord of the place, to receive him into *Gerberoy*, a strong fortress in the *Beauvoisis*. There *Robert* assembled a great number of soldiers, and was joined by many of the *French* nobility; some making the succours he received from *France* amount to two thousand men of arms: and from thence ravaged all the *Vexin Normand* and the *Pais de Caux*, putting all that opposed him to the sword, burning towns, and raising contributions.

WILLIAM, to stop these incursions, assembled his army in the depth of winter, and invested *Gerberoy*, lying before it three weeks: during which, there happened many signal encounters and acts of chivalry; many vigorous assaults given to the place and bravely repulsed; many sallies conducted with judgment, and made with success. In one of these, *Robert* had the misfortune to meet his father: and running against him with his lance, wounded him in the arm, and dismounted him; so that he fell to the ground, and crying out, made himself known by his voice. *Robert* (such is the force of nature) struck at once with remorse for his crime, and awakened to a sense of his duty, leaped immediately from his horse; raised up his

A. D. 1079.

¹ *Ord. Vital. p. 572.*

WILLIAM
1.
A. D. 1079.

father from the ground; fell upon his knees; and with a flood of tears, asked pardon for his offence; offering to lay down his arms, and return to his obedience. This generous and filial behaviour made no impression upon the father; he was perhaps in pain with his wound, or out of humour at the foil he received; he had lost abundance of men, and his favourite son *William* was wounded in the action; he had been incensed (it seems) too long, and too continually against *Robert*, to forgive him easily; and made him a return, that neither doth honour to his character, nor raises any advantageous opinion either of the generosity of his mind, or of the goodness of his nature. When *Robert* had mounted him upon his own horse, and let him go back to his camp, he was so little master of his passions, and so little affected by his eldest son's conduct on this occasion, that he gave him his curse at parting: he thought fit however to raise the siege, and return to *Rouen*. This action (the time whereof is by some mistaken, and placed very early in a war of which they have scarce any thing else to say) happened at the end of *January*, in the beginning of the year 1079; as appears from the testimonies of *Florence*, *Simon*, *Hoveden*, the *Chronicles of Mailros*, *John abbot of Peterborough*, and others; as well as from the circumstances of the relation.

WHAT reason and fatherly affection could not work in *William*, the instances of his queen, and the intreaties of *Roger*, earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Hugh de Grentemenil*, *Roger de Beaumont*, and other *Norman* barons, brought about in a short time: he was reconciled to *Robert*²; invited him to *Rouen*; and they both came over from thence into *England*, which had been infested by the incursions of the *Scots* in his absence. They had harassed the borders the year before; and at the latter end of *August* this year³, *Malcolm*, with a royal army, fell upon *Northumberland*, and ravaged it as far as the *Tyne*; *William* being then taken up with an expedition into *Wales*, and in receiving the homages of the princes and nobility of the country. The *Scots* were tempted to a like invasion the year following, by the discontent of the people of that county, and the disturbances raised in it on the following occasion.

A. D. 1080.
Trouble at
Durham.

XXII. WALCHER, bishop of *Durham*, had, after the death of *Waltbeof*, bought the earldom of *Northumberland* of the king: and suffered his officers, knights, and servants to govern⁴ it in a tyrannical manner, without ever offering to restrain them in the intolerable license that they used, and the hostilities to which they proceeded. They were continually exacting money from the people illegally, to their utter impoverishment; their insolence went so far, as to plunder abundance of them openly, and even murder some of the nobility: and these iniquities being daily perpetrated, without any interposition or censure on the bishop's part, rendered him infinitely odious to the *Northumbrians*. This is all that *Simon*, in his *History of the church of Durham*, says of the occasion of the following sad catastrophe; though, in his *Chronicle of the kings of England*, he relates particularly the murder of *Ligulf*, one of the most considerable of the *English* nobility in the north, and a great benefactor to the church of *Durham*; whither he had retired to avoid the rapines, and be protected from the insolence, of the *Normans*. This wise, devout, and charitable nobleman was highly esteemed by the bishop; who frequently consulting him in his affairs, and acting by his advice, contrary to the sentiments of *Lothwine* his chaplain, and *Gislebert* his relation and deputy in the government of the county, this exasperated them so highly, that they murdered *Ligulf*. *Walcher* was a good man, regular in his life, mild in his nature; and exceedingly lamented the

¹ *Ord. Vital.* p. 572.

² *Chr. Hemingford.* c. 8

³ *Hoved.* *Al. Paris.* an. 1079.

⁴ *Sen. Dun.* *Hyl. Ecl. Dun.* c. 58. *Al. Paris.* *Malmsfo.* l. iii.

⁵ *Flov. Wig.* *Promptu.*

death of his friend : but the murderers had got such an ascendant over him, that he received them into his house after the fact, and was governed by them as much as ever ; thus involving himself either in the guilt, or at least in the odium, of their iniquities. He took pains indeed to clear himself from having had any hand in the murder : but his connivance at it, his countenancing the agents, who were known to be his chief ministers, councillors, and directors, were such appearances in the eyes of an incensed people, that he was generally reputed guilty. Had he punished them as they deserved, he might probably have saved his own life : but proposing to compound the matter by making some satisfaction to the relations of the deceased, in a county-court held at *Gateshead* on *Thursday, May 14*, the nobles and people of *Northumberland*, too much enraged, either to sacrifice their vengeance to a bribe, or to leave themselves still exposed to the like assassinations, or other oppressions, under the government of such inhuman wretches, fell upon the prelate and his followers ; putting them all to the sword, with *Leefwine* and *Gislebert*, to the number of an hundred persons. They afterwards marched to *Durham*, and attacked the castle : but were forced, on the fourth day, to raise the siege, by the vigorous defence of the garrison.

Odo, bishop of *Bayeux*, chief justiciary of the kingdom, was sent down with an army to punish the authors¹ of this massacre : but most of those concerned in it, having left their possessions and fled into exile, the storm fell upon those that staid at home, trusting to their innocence. Some of these were either beheaded, or had their hands cut off, as if they had been guilty : and others were falsely accused, that they might redeem their lives by money. Odo having reduced all the country to a state of desolation, and stripped the church of one of its richest ornaments, a pastoral staff made of sapphires, curiously wrought, returned with his forces ; having left a strong garrison in the castle. This calamity was followed by another in autumn, when *Malcolm* having invaded *Northumberland* again, *William* sent his eldest son *Robert* with a body of forces, to drive him out of the country. Upon his approach, *Malcolm* retired home² : and the prince having advanced as far as *Eaglesfure* in *Scotland*, wasting all before him, and seeing no enemy to encounter, marched back again to the *Tyne* ; on the banks of which river he erected a fortress at *Monk-cyffer*, since called from thence *New-castle*. *Robert* upon his return to court did not find himself at all better in the king's favour, than he had been for some years before : and this rendering his stay there disagreeable, he resolved to travel abroad ; with a full resolution, however, never more take up arms against his father. His first design was to go into *Italy* in hopes of marrying a daughter of the marquis *Bonifacio* : but being disappointed of that match, he wandered about from one prince's court to another's, visiting his uncles *Robert le Frison* count of *Flanders*, and *Udo* archbishop of *Treves* ; and thence passing to others of his relations in *Gascogne*, *Lorraine*, and *Germany*. In this manner he spent five years ; having received every where very great presents, which he squandered dissolutely, and being attended in all his travels by *Robert de Belisne*, and the rest of the young *Norman* nobility who had adhered to him in his first revolt. At last he fixed his residence in the court of *France* : and continued in that country till his father's death, without raising any disturbance in his territories.

XXIII. AMONG other talents which distinguished *William*, and fitted him for government, he was an excellent manager of his revenue : and took care to have always a large fund of treasure in his coffers, ready to supply his occasions in any

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1080.

A. D. 1081.
A general survey of Eng-
land.

¹ *Sim. Dun. ib.*
Malin. p. l. iii.

² *Chron. Mailros. Chron. Joh. abb. de Petriburg.*

³ *Ord. Vital. l. 5.*

WILLIAM I. sudden emergence or difficulties that might happen. It was at this time that, to get a true account of the value, as well of his own demesnes, as of his lands held by his tenants *in capite*, he sent some of the most eminent of his prelates and nobility, as commissioners, into the counties respectively allotted them, to make a general survey of the kingdom. This was given in by the verdict of juries, sworn in every hundred, wapentac, or county, before the commissioners, to enquire and specify, what arable land, pasture, meadow, and wood, every man had, and what was the extent and value thereof, as well at present, as in the time of *Edward the Confessor*. The survey was made by counties, hundreds, towns, or manors, hides, carucates, virgates, and acres, and the portions of these quantities of different kinds of ground: and took notice likewise of what mills and fisheries, and in some counties, how many freemen, socmen, villains, cottagers, borders, slaves, cattle, sheep, hogs, working horses, and other animals, were in each town and manor, and to whom they belonged. It¹ was six years in taking, not being finished till *A. D.* 1086: and was drawn up in two books; the lesser describing the counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Essex*; the great one containing all the rest of the kingdom, except the three northern counties of *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*. It was called *Domesday Book*, because every man was to receive his doom, or be judged by it, in case any dispute about the value, tenure, payment, or services of his lands, should arise upon the collection of the king's ordinary revenue, or the raising of extraordinary taxes. This valuable record, having served ever since for a decisive evidence in such disputes, is lodged in the office of the chamberlains of the *Exchequer*; and seems to have been designed by the *Conqueror*, not so much for his own service, as for the benefit of his successors.

A. D. 1082. XXIV. THE care observed in making this survey did not do more honour to his œconomy, than the seizing of *Odo* bishop of *Bayeux*² and earl of *Kent*, notwithstanding the papal claims of having the cognizance of crimes of bishops and the exemption of their persons from the civil power, did to the vigour of his administration. This prelate being, as chief justiciary, the second person of the realm, had, during his government thereof, amassed immense sums of money by the most oppressive and illegal methods: and upon an idle prediction of some astrologer or fortune-teller, that *Gregory* the present Pope should be succeeded by one *Odo*, resolved to employ them in a purchase of the papacy. With this view³ he had bought a palace at *Rome*, furnished it very magnificently, and employed agents there to engage by presents and promises the interest of the great men in his behalf at the next election. It behoved him to be himself on the spot, when the time came; and⁴ being by his parts, elocution, experience, learning, and knowledge of various kinds very well qualified for any negotiation, he seems to have made no question of succeeding in his design, and even to have persuaded others into the same notion. Full of these hopes, and in order to appear at *Rome* with a splendid equipage, he engaged *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, and a great part of his principal tenants, to attend him into *Italy*, and assist in the affair; which it seems they had so much at heart, as well as so much confidence in his promises, that they designed to sell their estates in *England* and settle in *Italy*; where they expected much greater honours and fortunes. The king having advice of these proceedings, and apprehending that his realm might suffer greatly by losing the service of so many *Nor-*

¹ *Little Domesday*, fol. 45.

⁴ *Gul. Pictav.* p. 209.

² *Chron Sax. Flc. Wig. Chron. Maihof.*

³ *Ord. Vit.* p. 646

mans of figure, and by the exportation of so much treasure as *Odo* was carrying with him, came over hastily from *Normandie* to prevent his designs: and met him unexpectedly in the *Isle of Wight*, as he was ready, with all his train, to embark. There summoning his nobility about him: and having charged his brother with breach of trust in his administration of the realm, with oppressing the subject in an arbitrary manner, robbing churches of their estates and treasure, oppressing the poor, and debauching the forces, which should defend the country, from his service, and carrying them away to *Italy* on chimerical projects, he desired their advice on the occasion. They being afraid of *Odo's* greatness, and not caring to deliver their opinion in the case; he told them, "no man's quality ought to be a protection for his crimes, nor ought any single person to be spared in prejudice of the public:" and then ordered them to apprehend his person, and keep him in safe custody. None of them daring to lay hands on a prelate, the king seized him with his own hands; and upon *Odo's* insisting that he was a bishop, and as such could not be tried by any body but the Pope, he replied, that he seized him not as bishop of *Bayeux*, but as earl of *Kent*; in which last capacity, he was certainly subject to his courts of justice, and obliged to give an account of his administration. *Odo* was sent away into *Normandie*, and imprisoned in the castle of *Rolien*: nor could all the instances, remonstrances, and intimations of resentment, used by Pope *Gregory* in his particular behalf, and in favour of ecclesiastical immunities in general, prevail for his release, during the life of the Conqueror.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1082.

XXV. This prince made a longer stay in *England*, than in all probability he had proposed at his coming over: this was owing to a plague or pestilential distemper, which reigned at this time in *Normandie*, and dispeopled the towns and villages of the country. During this stay he exercised himself much in hunting; a pastime which he loved exceedingly, and had such a fury for gratifying, that he depopulated above thirty miles of country in *Hampshire*, turning out all the inhabitants, destroying the houses, gardens, and even churches, which stood in that tract, in order to make it a desert, fit for the habitation of wild beasts, that served for his diversion; this part of the country being thereupon called the *New Forest*. Mr. *Selden*, after *Polydore Vergil*, is apt to fancy that another reason concurred in influencing him to this step, and that he did it with a political view, for the better landing of forces out of *Normandie*, in case of any exigence, and to prevent any sufficient number of *English* from getting together in a body, early enough to oppose their descent. The situation indeed of the place is favourable enough to this notion, and there were so many forests already in *England*, that there is little appearance of his being under a necessity to make another for his pleasure: but still this new one lay very convenient for *Winchester*, the usual place where our kings in these days resided; and if it had been made for the political reason assigned, it ought to have been made earlier in his reign than is generally supposed, before *England* was entirely subdued, and the nobility ruined, banished, or destroyed; all which was effected in his first five years; a space of time full of troubles and difficulties; which he was too wise a prince to encourage and encrease by a step, that must render him odious, and raise a general clamour. Whenever it was that he made this forest, historians have generally placed it at the latter end of his reign; though perhaps their reason for doing so might be, because his forest-laws were about this time published.

¹ *Vice*, p. 582.

² *Annals. Baron*, A. D. 1084.

³ *Du Moulin's Hist. de Normandie*, p. 226.

⁴ *Travels*, p. 1357.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1083.

HUNTING had always been the favourite exercise and diversion, as well of the Saxons as the Britains; they were careful to preserve conveniences to gratify their passion for it: and in the distribution of lands, such only as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated, being shared among particular proprietors, there still remained large tracts of barren, wild, or woody lands undistributed. The whole country was full of all sorts of game in the times of the Britains; who lived in a wild manner, roving from place to place with their flocks and herds; never troubling themselves with inclosing and improving lands, but using them in the condition that nature offered them; and derived a great part of their subsistence from hunting, which they all enjoyed in common. Upon the enclosure or improvement of the fertile lands by the Saxons, the wild beasts, naturally avoiding neighbours from whom they dreaded and felt harm, fled into the woody and desert tracts, where they found shelter, and met with less disturbance in their feeding: and these coming to be filled with great plenty of all sorts of game, formed all those extents of ground, which were afterwards called *Forests*. These having never been disposed of in the distribution of lands among the Saxons, and having no certain proprietor, were all deemed to belong to the crown, for the same reason that all wrecks at sea and escheats of lands, for which no heir or owner appeared, were reputed to be so vested. This right was never disputed: but our Saxon kings only made use of it for their pleasure; never offering, till the time of the usurper *Harold*, to restrain (except only as to their own deer) either the nobility and gentry bordering on the forests, from taking the diversion of hunting in them, and amusing themselves in the quest of the superfluity of that game, which it was their interest, and necessary for their sport, to preserve; or the farmers in adjoining villages, from using the herbage thereof for the pasture of their cattle. But *William* claiming an absolute right and property in these forests, to which none of his nobility, who derived all their possessions from his grants, could advance any pretensions; and being very strict in reserving all hunting and sporting therein to himself, or to such as he might think fit to indulge and favour with a permission; the Norman barons were thereby debarred of a liberty, which the Saxon nobility had always enjoyed. This restraint sat the more uneasy upon them, as well because it debarred them in the use of their favourite pleasure, the only one which in that illiterate age they had to amuse or relieve the tediousness of their vacant hours; as because it reduced them to the level of the commoners, for whom the king shewed more tenderness, in not curtailing them with regard to the pasturage of their cattle, which they continued to enjoy as formerly. They looked upon it, not only as an indignity to themselves, but as an act likewise of arbitrary power in the prince: and if we consider the new laws, ever unknown before in this nation, and very different from the mildness of the Saxon government, which he instituted upon this occasion; the killing of a deer being punished with putting out the eyes of the guilty, and a like prohibition issued with regard to hares, as well as wild boars, we shall be at a loss whether to ascribe them to the imperiousness of the Conqueror's nature, to his inordinate passion for hunting, or to the avarice of his temper; which the excessive fines, appearing vastly to outweigh either the offence or the damage, imposed upon trespasses committed within the forests, seem calculated to gratify. Thus whilst the depopulating a large tract of country, to make the *New Forest*, appeared an horrid grievance, and rendered him odious to the English, he took care at the same time to disoblige his Normans by the severity of the laws which he made to restrain them in what they had most at heart; a conduct not to be reconciled to his usual prudence, which directed him always to take

! *Chr. Sax. A. D. 1086.*

the most proper seasons for the execution of his measures; unless by supposing all this to be done towards the latter end of his reign, when (as the *Saxon Chronicle* insinuates on this occasion) he was absolute master of the kingdom. It is certain, that these forest-laws were executed with the utmost rigour; that they were ever deemed by the nobility as an insupportable grievance; that they were the source of an infinite number of oppressions; that a mitigation thereof was as much contended for, as a relaxation of the rigours of the feudal law; the *Charta de Foresta* being, equally with *Magna-Charta*, the great objects which the barons had in their view, when they took up arms in the reigns of king *John* and his son *Henry III.*, and made this country a scene of blood for many years, till they were gratified with the establishment of those charters.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1083.

XXVI. DURING the king's stay in *England*, there happened a tragical affair in the convent of *Glastenbury*; where, upon the deposition of abbot *Ailnod*¹ (who was too much an *Englishman* to be suffered to enjoy his dignity) about six years before, he had put in *Thurstan*, a monk of *Caen* in *Normandie*, to be his successor. This man having all the haughtiness of a *Norman* in him, without any judgment or prudence to qualify or manage it, acted in an arbitrary, oppressive, and violent manner towards the monks of the monastery; taking all occasions to aggrieve them, and even seeking them, when they were not offered. Among other hardships which he put upon them, he ordered them to leave off the *Gregorian chant*, and to adopt another manner of singing lately invented by one *William*, a religious of *Fescamp*: which the monks considering as a dangerous innovation in divine service, and resolving to stick to their old rule, absolutely refused. *Thurstan*, incensed at their disobedience, brought a party of *Norman* soldiers, with arms in their hands, into the chapter house, to force them to a compliance: and upon their flying in a fright into the church for refuge, pursued them thither, killed two of them at the foot of the altar, and wounded about fourteen others. The king, examining into the affair, dispersed the monks into other convents: and sent the abbot to his old monastery in *Normandie*; where he remained for the rest of this prince's days, but was afterwards, upon a present of five hundred pounds, restored to his dignity by *William Rufus*.

Tumult at
Glastenbury.

XXVII. THE king was, in the latter end of the autumn, called over into *Normandie*, by the sickness or death of his queen *Matilda*²; who having been married to him thirty-three years, died, after a lingering illness, on *November 2*, and was buried with great magnificence in the church of *S. Trinity* at *Caen*, a monastery of her own foundation. He had by her four sons, *Robert*, already mentioned; *Richard*, who receiving his death's wound in the *New-Forest*, was interred in the cathedral of *Winchester*; *William*, and *Henry*, who succeeded in their order to the crown of *England*; and four or five daughters. These were, *Cecilia*, the second abbess of the nunnery of *S. Trinity* of *Caen*; *Constance*, married to *Alain Fergant*, duke of *Bretagne*, but dying without issue, and buried in the abbey of *St. Edmund's Bury*; *Agatha*, or *Adelides*, contracted first to *Harold*, and afterwards to *Alphonso*, king of *Galicia*, but married to neither, and dying on the road to *Spain*, her corpse was brought back, and interred at *Bayeux*; *Alice*, a young lady of great beauty, virtue, and accomplishment, which she owed to the instructions of *Roger*, count *de Beauvais*, who had the care of her education, but died about the fourteenth year of her age, unmarried, like her sister last mentioned, and probably the very same person, though two names, ordinary in those times, make them be thought different; and

Q. *Matilda's*
death, and
children.

¹ *Flor. Hist.*

² *Du Moulin's Hist. de Normand. p. 226.*

WILLIAM
I.

Adela, wife of *Stephen*, count of *Blois* and *Chartres*; after whose decease, she professed herself a religious in the nunnery of *Marcilly*. *William* was so exceedingly afflicted at the death of his wife¹, that he is said to have abstained ever after from his usual recreations: and the four years he survived her were embittered with a series of troubles.

A. D. 1084.
Insurrection
in Maine.

XXVIII. THE first broke out in *le Maine*, the nobility of which province were not easily reconciled to the *Norman* government. *Hubert*, *Vicomte de Beaumont*², supported by his father-in-law, *William* count of *Nevers*, took up arms in a fit of resentment at some ill usage he had received from the *Conqueror*, who either hated or suspected him: and retired with his wife and family to his castle of *S. Susanne*; a place, in those days, deemed impregnable, and from whence he made incursions into *le Maine*, surprizing parties of the *Norman* garrisons, and ravaging the open country. The king, upon advice of this insurrection, levied a body of troops in *Normandie*, and marched directly to *S. Susanne*: but finding the place not easy to be taken, did not besiege it in form; chusing rather to erect a fort in the valley of *Beugy*, to curb the excursions of the rebels, and to return himself to *Reims*. The forces left in this fort, under the command of his son-in-law *Alain Fergent*, were at first superior to those of the enemy: but these last being reinforced by great numbers of *Hubert's* friends and allies out of *France* and *Burgundy*, came every day to assault the *Normans* at the very gates of their fort; taking abundance of prisoners, and enriching themselves by the booties which they took continually. The war lasted in this manner for three years, to the great disadvantage of the *Normans*; *Robert de Vicupont*, *Robert de Uffey*, *Hervey Brito*, *Richer Baron de l'Aigle*, being slain in it, with abundance of other valiant knights; who fell in the skirmishes that happened continually. *William de Warenne*, *Baudry de Cintre*, *Gilbert de l'Aigle*, and others, desirous to revenge these losses, gathered all the strength they could raise together to attack the rebels: but had the misfortune to be defeated with considerable loss, being pursued to the walls of their fortress, and *William* count of *Evreux* taken prisoner. The *Normans*, discouraged by these disasters, and finding it impracticable to reduce *Hubert* by force, proposed to make his peace with the king, and to reinstate him in his good graces, if he would return to his duty. *Hubert*, though he grew rich, and raised his reputation greatly by the war, hearkened to their proposals; went with a pass, at their request, into *England* to wait upon the *Conqueror*, was received into favour; restored to all his father's estate; and continued ever after faithful to the oath which he now took of allegiance.

Alarm of
a Danish in-
vasion.

XXIX. THE long continuance of this war was probably owing to the king's being obliged to go over into *England*³ to provide for the defence of the realm against an invasion, which *Canut*, king of *Denmark*, was preparing to make, with the assistance of *Robert le Frison*, count of *Flanders*; whose daughter he had married. It was upon this occasion, that *William*, fond of any pretence that would bring money into his coffers, laid an exorbitant tax of six shillings an hyde upon the kingdom, the heaviest of any taken notice of in our *English* annals. *Canut's* preparations for his expedition were extraordinary, having fitted out a fleet of a thousand sail; he was two years in making them; but when he had assembled all his force in the year following, and his fleet lay ready to sail, in order to make a descent on the coast of *England*, he was prevented from doing so, either by contrary winds, or by some disturbances in his own country. This prince had very

A. D. 1085.

¹ *W. Malmsh. Ord. Vital. p. 648. Chron. Saxon.*

² *Ord. Vital. ib.*

³ *Flor. Wg. Chron. Angl.*

ill luck in his designs upon this island; for when he resumed them in the time of WILLIAM I. *William Rufus*, and every thing was ready for the expedition, he was assassinated by his own brother *Olaus* at the foot of the altar, as he was at his last prayers before he embarked; upon which all his armament dispersed. A. D. 1085.

WILLIAM, who dreaded no enemy but the *Danes*, and was always apprehensive of their intelligences, alliances, and interest with the *English*, made unusual preparations to oppose them: but chose to depend upon the fidelity of foreigners; having assembled a mighty army of mercenaries out of *Spain*, *France*, *Burgundy*, and *Germany* for that purpose. Some thousands of these he sent into the *Northumbrian* territories: and expecting the *Danes* would there make their first attempt, and would probably be best received by the people, he gave orders to have those countries wasted, that the enemy might find no provisions for their subsistence. The rest he dispersed over the kingdom, obliging his grandees and officers to supply them with provisions, and quartering great numbers upon the monasteries; that of *Croyland* being burdened (as *Ingulf* says) with six knights, and twenty-eight archers. But when he had certain advice of the *Danish* design being disappointed, he dismissed half his troops; keeping the rest till the winter was over, and he saw what the next spring was likely to produce. It was at *Gloucester*¹, where he passed his *Christmas* holidays (holding his court for five days, as the archbishop of *Canterbury* did afterwards a synod of the clergy for three more, according to custom) that he disposed of the vacant sees of *London*, *Thetford*, and *Chester*, to his three chaplains *Maurice*, *William*, and *Robert*.

XXX. IT was in this year, that bishop *Remigius*² removed the see of *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; among the records of which last church is preserved the famous charter, by which the *Conqueror*, separating the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the civil, abrogated the judiciary power exercised by the bishops during the *Saxon* times in each county: where they and their archdeacons, or other delegates, constantly sat in court with the earls and sheriffs, for the administration of justice, and received a share of the fines inflicted on offenders. The charter provides, “that
“no bishop or archdeacon should any longer hold ecclesiastical pleas in the hundred
“court, nor suffer any cause of a spiritual nature, relating to the cure of souls, to
“come under the cognizance of secular persons: but whoever was guilty of any
“offence against the canons of the church, should come to the place appointed by
“the bishop of each diocese to be there tried according to the ecclesiastical laws;
“and if he declined doing so, he was, after three summons, to be excommunicated. In case the criminal still persisted in his contumacy, the secular arm was
“to be called in for aid: and the sheriff was obliged to give his assistance; perhaps to levy the fine payable to the bishop for each contempt of his summons. There was likewise a strict inhibition laid upon all sheriffs, royal officers, and lay persons whatsoever, not to encroach upon the episcopal jurisdiction; not to try any man, whose cause was cognizable before the bishop; nor intermeddle in ecclesiastical affairs.” Such was the purport of this famous charter, establishing a new method of judicature in ecclesiastical matters, and containing regulations, passed in a general council of the nation, with the consent of the bishops, abbots, and all the principal nobility.

THE prelates and noblemen, being all *French*, *Flemings*, *Bretons*, or *Normans*, it is no wonder, that they should easily be brought to give up any part of the old *English* constitution, the benefits whereof they had scarce experienced; and to introduce the usages of their own countries, in favour of which they were naturally

Separation of
the ecclesiastical
court from
the civil.

¹ *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.*

² *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 368, 396.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1085.

prepossessed. It would else appear unaccountable, how an assembly of wise men, supposing they acted as free agents, unconstrained by the arbitrary power of an imperious prince, should agree to abolish an ancient institution, under which the nation had flourished for many hundreds of years, and had constantly enjoyed the blessings of peace and order, in a degree that might well render it an object of the envy of its neighbours on the continent. There was no complaint of any abuse, no pretence of any grievance, arising from the union of the ecclesiastical and civil judicatures: and the mischiefs, that immediately ensued from their separation, should serve for an eternal caution to all persons, and restrain them from ever consenting to alterations in old usages, consecrated, in a manner, by the constant practice and happy experience of many ages. In such cases, there must be always some pretence found out to gloss over the conduct of those, who, out of selfish, corrupt, or wicked views, are for breaking through old rules: and thus in the preamble to the charter in question, it is alledged, “that the ecclesiastical laws had not till then “been well ordered or administered in *England*, according to the holy canons,” i. e. they had been enacted in mixed assemblies, composed both of clergy and laity, and executed by ecclesiastical and civil magistrates, sitting together in judgment, and acting with a perfect harmony. This shews plainly enough, that the new regulation was owing to the intrigues of the *court of Rome*; which was labouring at this time in *Germany*, and other countries abroad, to exclude the civil power from intermeddling in ecclesiastical matters, and the laity from exercising their undoubted right of patronage, incident to them, as founders of churches: and could not usurp, as she designed, upon the ecclesiastical authority in *England*, till she had first got it separated from the civil, with which it had hitherto acted in concurrence.

THE separation of the two judicatures proved of no advantage to either: the county-court, deprived of the bishop's presence, lost much of its dignity, and declined daily in its authority. Persons of the greatest quality and consideration in the county began to think it no longer worthy of their attendance; all pleas of the crown, and causes between subjects of a more than ordinary value, were soon taken from its cognizance, and reserved to the determination of the king's justices, and of itinerant justices, sent at certain terms to administer justice in the provinces: and the simple, natural, cheap, and expeditious method of deciding controversies in that court, gave way to the quirks, subtleties, delays, and artifices of *Norman* lawyers, affecting to puzzle a cause, and to render a suit, as well uncertain in its issue, as expensive in its litigation. But it proved vastly more prejudicial to the church; whose service was urged as a motive for making this new regulation: which was soon made use of by the court of *Rome* to undermine the sovereignty of the crown, and to subvert the liberties of the people; consequences, which the *Conqueror* probably, in his devout attachment to that see, did not expect or apprehend. Before his time, the *Pope's* writs did not run in *England*; he did not pretend to dispose of prelacies or preferments in this kingdom; no bulls of excommunication or provision, no monitories or citations, were sent hither, nor any appeals made from hence to *Rome*: all ecclesiastical causes were adjudged and determined at home, without any interposition of the *papal* authority. *Rome* had indeed been always respected by the *Saxons* as the chief seat of learning; as a place of the greatest note in *Europe* for learned divines, qualified by their studies and knowledge to give advice and instructions in new and doubtful cases; for which reason, and not on account of any authority over this church, *Kennil*, king of *Mercia*, with his bishops and nobility¹, consulted *Leo III*, in the case of the

¹ See their letter in *Malmesb.* l. i. c. 4. Ut nobis de multimodis inquisitionibus, super quibus maximam subtilitatem vestram dignum duximus perquirere, benigne respondeas—Excellentiam vestram archi-

archiepiscopal chair at *Lichfield*. But neither did this friendly communication between the two churches, nor the honorary compliment of a pall, sent from the western patriarch to the *English* metropolitans, afford any colour for the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction here, or for the coming over of any papal delegates, with legatine powers, to call councils, to pass censures, or judge in ecclesiastical causes; till the *Conqueror* invited them over to serve his own ends in the deprivation of archbishop *Stigand*.

WILLIAM
I.
A. D. 1085.

THIS giving the *Pope* a pretence to meddle in the causes of prelates, he was minded to extend his authority over the rest of the clergy, and to draw all other ecclesiastical causes to his own cognizance in the *dernier ressort*: but could not execute his design, till a separation was made between the ecclesiastical and civil judicatures. The mixed assembly of the spiritual and temporal nobility, which established this separation, provided effectually for its observance by civil penalties, as well as ecclesiastical censures; by punishing contumacy with excommunication and the like fines or amerciaments, as were laid on those that did not attend at the hundred and county-courts; not considering what a blow they thereby gave to their own authority. The *Pope* now, instead of being subject to the canons of the church, began to be thought above them, and to have an absolute power of dispensing with them, of suspending their obligation, of repealing them, and of imposing his own decrees as binding laws upon all nations, without their consent: and whether the canons were of his own making, or the decrees of ancient councils, he still set up in both cases to be the supreme judge of all breaches thereof. This laid the foundation of those appeals to *Rome*, which began to be set on foot and disputed in the very next reign: and notwithstanding all the opposition of our kings, who stood up for a time in defence of the jurisdiction of the crown, and of the rights of the kingdom, still gained ground, till they were at last so warranted by usage, as to become ordinary, to the infinite detriment of the realm; which was drained of its treasure to enrich the court of *Rome*, and the very bodies of its subjects drawn out of it by citations thither, and the necessity of attending the tedious processes, which that court knew how to make expensive, intricate, and uncertain. Hence arose continual quarrels between the crown and the papacy; which embroiled the nation, and produced terrible disorders: and as the former was generally forced to truckle to the latter, the prelates, finding that princes were either unable or afraid to protect them, made no difficulty of disobeying the laws of the land, whenever they interfered with the canons of the church. Thus were the most wholesome ordinances defeated; the ancient customs and franchises confounded; the rights of patrons to sees, abbeys, and churches, invaded by papal bulls and provisions; the royal prerogative insulted; and the subject in general molested and impoverished. Nor was the separation of the two judicatures of any advantage to the ecclesiastical; for though it made a shift to bear up, by the

tram exoramus, quibus a Deo merito sapientiæ clavis collata est, ut super hac causa cum sapientibus vestris quaeratis, et quicquid vobis videatur, nobis postea servandum, rescribere dignemini.

We see in the letters of Pope *Gregory*, who died this year, after having sat on the papal throne from A. D. 1073, among the maxims which he laid down for the plan of his government these following, viz. "that the *Pope alone* can deprive and restore bishops, and can do so without assembling any council for that purpose; that the *Pope alone* can make new laws according to the exigence of the times; that he can make new dioceses, dismember and unite bishopricks as he sees fit; al-

ter the nature and rules of monasteries; oblige bishops to quit their sees, and translate them to others in what part of the world he pleaseth; that whatever sentence he pronounceth, it ought to be submitted to implicitly, and received by all without examination; and that he *alone* hath a right to examine the sentences of all other judges." These were some of the powers which he arrogated to himself in ecclesiastical matters; besides the authority, which he pretended to in temporals, of deposing emperors, and absolving the subjects of an evil prince from their oath of allegiance.

WILLIAM I. support of the papal, against many encroachments upon it, attempted by the civil courts of law, even in the times of popery, it hath been since reduced to very narrow bounds; to an inability of exercising a proper discipline; notwithstanding the well-known distinction between causes ecclesiastical and civil. Some pretences or other, easily invented by common law judges, who, with Sir *Edward Coke*, conceive it to be their duty, as it is undoubtedly for their interest, to enlarge the jurisdiction of their own courts, have been found out from time to time to elude that distinction, and to lessen the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: but none so likely to annihilate it entirely as one of a modern invention; whereby judges, as the sole interpreters of acts of parliament, engross to themselves the cognizance of all ecclesiastical offences, provided against by those acts; and prohibit the spiritual courts from proceeding therein, notwithstanding the legal punishment thereof consists chiefly in ecclesiastical censures. So dangerous is it in *England*, more than in any other country in *Europe*, for the church to apply to the civil power for protection and encouragement; when its interposition in her behalf may be made a pretence for undermining her authority, and destroying all her discipline.

A. D. 1086. XXXI. IT was in the year following, that, according to *Florence of Worcester*, and others, the king knighted his son *Henry* at *Westminster* in *Whitsun* week: and summoned all his prelates, nobility, and the most considerable of his military tenants throughout the kingdom, to attend him on the first of *August* at *Salisbury*: where they all by an oath of fealty professed their adherence to him against all his adversaries, and did him the homage required by their tenures. There doth not appear any particular reason for this extraordinary precaution; unless he was still apprehensive of an invasion from *Denmark*: and this might possibly be the reason, why going thence, after extorting great sums of money from his *English* subjects, without regard to right or wrong, to the *Isle of Wight*, and passing over into *Normandie*, he carried *Edgar Atheling* with him thither. This prince, the true heir of the crown of *England*, had many virtues, but such as became a private person, rather than a monarch; he was brave, but not enterprising; and might have appeared well enough on a throne in quiet times, though he was not fitted to struggle with difficulties in his way to it: he was very young¹ at the time of *Harold's* usurpation and the *Norman* invasion, and had opposed neither; but finding himself exposed to *William's* jealousy, had fled to *Scotland*, either for safety of his life, or to get assistance to support his title to the crown. He had engaged in some attempts to make it good: but these proving unsuccessful, he had submitted to the *Conqueror*, renounced his claim, and lived afterwards in a private, retired, and inoffensive manner, without ever marrying to continue it in his children. Notwithstanding these precautions, the gracefulness of his person, the goodness of his nature, the bounty of his temper, the right of his birth, and the compassion inspired into the people by his being unjustly reduced to a state below it, making him generally beloved by the *English*, he could never get over *William's* suspicions. These seem to have been the occasion of his being carried into *Normandie*, as well as of his being there looked upon with an evil eye, and treated with such indignities, that he could not bear them any longer: and not being either allowed or able to take any other party without offence, he resolved to go to the *Holy Land*; his sister *Christina*, who had hitherto lived with him unmarried, and probably was another object of the *Conqueror's* jealousy, taking upon her at the same time the veil in the nunnery of *Rumsey*. *William*, to be rid of his fears of a competitor, likely to serve for an head to any party of malecontents, and formidable by the affection of the *English*, who

¹ *Walsingham* calls him a boy. *Ypod. Neustrie*, p. 437.

were extremely irritated by the oppression of the *Normans*, and the horrible injustice of the justiciaries, encouraged the voyage: and furnishing him with money to make it in a manner suitable to his dignity, *Edgar* set out with a splendid equipage, and two hundred knights in his retinue, and went to *Apulia*.

WILLIAM
I.

XXII. This removal of a rival into a remote quarter of the world, though it quieted the king's mind with regard to the affairs of *England*, did not restore his health of body; which was now declining apace: yet in this condition, he became, without design, involved in a war with a potent prince; which he carried on with his usual vigour, notwithstanding his manifold infirmities. Some impute the occasion to a trifling accident, which is thus related. *Robert* and *Henry*, *William's* sons, being in the *Vexin* following their diversions, took it into their heads to go to the court of *France*, and make a visit to king *Philip*: who was then in their neighbourhood at *Conflans S. Honorine*, and received them with great kindness. *Louis*, surnamed *le Gros*, *Philip's* eldest son, happening to play one evening at chess with *Henry*, lost several games to him, with a good deal of money: which putting him out of humour, provoked him to use ill language, to reproach *Henry* with being the son of a bastard, and at last to throw the chessmen at his head. *Henry*, in a rage at this usage, threw the chessboard in his face, with such violence as laid him bleeding on the ground: and would have killed him, if he had not been hindered by his brother *Robert*, who thought it more prudent to make their escape. The two brothers got on horseback immediately: and making great speed towards *Pontoise*, were met on the road by *Baldwin de Harcourt*, and *Fulk* count of *Beaumont sur Oyse*; who being apprized of the danger they were in by one of their servants, had advanced with a party to their relief, and repulsed the pursuers to the very gates of *Conflans*. *Philip* is said to have resented his son's wound more than such an accident deserved, and to have begun the war in consequence of that resentment. But the true occasion of it seems to have arisen from the excursions of *Hugh Stavele* and *Ralf Mauvoisin*, governors of *Mante*²; who, with the troops of their garrison, passing the river *Eure*, which then parted *France* from *Normandie*, ravaged all the borders of this last country, particularly the lands of *William de Breteuil*, lord of *Pacey*, and *Roger de Yvry*; carrying off at different times a great booty, with abundance of prisoners, and reproaching the *Normans* with want of courage. *Philip* likewise is said to have increased the king of *England's* resentment at these depredations, by an improper scoff that he made with regard to the latter's corpulency and illness; saying, that "his lying-in was much longer than the women of that country usually took to get rid of their big bellies, and that he must be at a great expence in lights at his uprising;" alluding to the custom which women observed in those days, of offering a lighted taper at their being churched. *William*³, incensed at this ridicule, sent *Philip* word, that "he should soon be up; and he would come to present him with so many lights, that he should repent of his joke;" a menace which was soon followed by effects, and the burning of a great many villages in the neighbourhood of *Paris*.

THE joke here mentioned was only fit for contempt; nor were the incursions of the governors of *Mante* a sufficient cause of war; till after a demand and refusal of satisfaction for the damages sustained. *William* therefore, resolved upon one, thought fit to shew the justice and reasonableness of his proceedings, by a demand of far greater consequence; requiring *Philip* to put him immediately in possession of *Pontoise*, *Chaumont*, *Mante*, and all the *Vexin François*. It is not unlikely, that on this occasion *Philip* might require *William* to do homage to him for

¹ Chron. Norman.

² Ord. Vital. p. 650.

³ P. 577.

WILLIAM the crown of *England*, pursuant ¹ to the offer made by the latter, when he solicited the assistance of *France* in the expedition he was preparing to make for the conquest of that kingdom: but as the offer was only conditional, and no assistance had been given, this demand was easily answered, and probably was intended by *Philip*, merely to represent, in a parallel instance, the unreasonableness of that ² made by *William*. There was however a great difference in the two cases; for *Robert II* duke of *Normandie* had actually assisted *Henry*, *Philip's* father, with his forces: and it was chiefly by his means, that this prince was enabled to quell the faction, raised by his mother *Constance*, to exclude him from the throne of *France*, and to place upon it her favourite son, his younger brother *Robert*. *Henry*, in acknowledgment of this eminent service, had given *Pontoise*, with all the *Vexin François* between the rivers *Oyse* and *Epte*, to *William's* father; who possessed them all the rest of his life, and received the homage of *Drogo*, a descendant of *Charlemagne* and count of that territory. *Drogo's* services were so acceptable to the duke of *Normandie*, that he gave him in marriage his cousin *Goda*, sister to *Edward the Confessor*; by whom the count had three sons, *Ralf*, *Walter* of *Mante*, and *Fulk* bishop of *Amiens*, and was so affectionate to the duke, that he accompanied him to the holy land; in which voyage they both died. The king of *France*, taking advantage of their decease, and of the troubles which broke out in *Normandie* during the minority of *William*, had seized the *Vexin François*, and kept possession of it ever since; this last prince being either disabled or diverted, by the disturbances in some part or other of his dominions, from demanding or attempting the recovery thereof sooner.

WILLIAM, upon the refusal of his demand, entered the *Isle of France* with a strong army, destroying and burning all before him without any opposition: and detached thence *Ascelin Goel* to burn the corn, and cut up all the vines about *Mante*; which he soon after invested. The place not being well fortified, was taken by storm the next day after he came before it; which was in the last week of *July*: and the town being set on fire, was burnt, with all the churches and monasteries, in which some of the religious perished by the flames. The king entered the place, as yet burning in some parts, on horseback, as it were in triumph: but passing amidst the ruins of houses, his horse chanced to set his two fore-feet on some hot ashes or scorching ³ rubbish, and flung aside with so sudden a leap, that *William*, not prepared for such an accident, had like to have been dismounted, and the lower part of his belly being bruised by the pommel of the saddle, the pain he felt by that hurt brought on him a relapse of his illness, and he was forced to return to *Reims*.

XXXIII. FROM thence, being disturbed by the noise of the town, and finding himself growing daily worse, he was carried in a litter to the priory of *St. Gervais*, belonging to the monks of *Fescamp*: and was there attended by *Gilbert* bishop of *Lyons*, and *Gontard* abbot of *Jumièges*, his physicians in ordinary, and the most skillful of the profession. These prelates, perceiving their medicines had no effect, advertised him of his danger: and he prepared for death, by confessing his sins, receiving the sacrament, and settling his affairs. His late cruelties at *Mante* giving him some remorse, he sent to the clergy of the place a large sum of money, to rebuild the churches he had burnt: and ordered the greatest part of his treasures to be distributed among the poor, the clergy, the churches, and monasteries, specifying in his will the particular sum he had designed for each; hoping thus to

¹ *Wac MS.* p. 576.

² *Ord. Ital.* p. 654.

³ *Wac*, p. 578.

atone for the injuries and oppressions he had been guilty of in the course of his government. *Normandie* and *Le Maine* he left to his eldest son *Robert*, as being his¹ right of inheritance; though he foresaw those countries would be very miserable under his dominion: but as he had no hereditary right to *England*, he could give none to his son, and having shed there an infinite quantity of blood, and exercised numberless cruelties, he would not take upon him to dispose of that kingdom, though it was his own acquisition. Referring it therefore to the pleasure of Almighty God, he still wished that his favourite son *William*, who had always been obedient to him, might enjoy it after his decease: and dispatched him away thither, with letters to archbishop *Lanfranc*, desiring that prelate to crown *William* immediately, as the onely way to prevent the troubles, which a dispute for the crown might occasion. To his youngest son *Henry*² he left only five thousand pounds sterling, in ready money, besides his mother's jointure, but without any territory; predicting however (as some relate) that he would in a short time be possessed of both his brothers dignities, and surpass them both in power and riches. To the abbey of *St. Stephen* at *Caen* he bequeathed his crown, scepter, and rod, which he used on the higher festivals, the precious³ stone chalice, the golden candlesticks, and other *regalia* used at his coronation; for the redemption whereof *William Rufus* contracted to give that monastery the manor of *Coker* in *Somersetshire*, though the agreement was not executed, nor the regalia restored, till the reign of his successor.

AMONG other acts of mercy, which he did before his death, may be reckoned his orders for setting at liberty the earls⁴ *Morcar*, *Roger*, *Siward* son of *Barn*, and *Wulnoth*, brother to the usurper *Harold*, who had been an hostage or prisoner ever since *A. D.* 1052; together with all others, that were in custody, either in *England* or *Normandie*, upon their taking an oath, not to disturb the peace of those countries. He did not at first propose to do the like grace for *Odo* bishop of *Bayeux*; and on his brother *Robert* count of *Mortain*'s interceding in his behalf, he represented that prelate as a despiser of religion, a destroyer of monasteries, a grievous oppressor, ambitious, light, seditious, immensely cruel and tyrannical in his nature, and as one, that, if he were at liberty, would disturb all the country, and be the death of thousands: but *Robert*, with others, renewing their intreaties, he yielded at last to their importunity, and consented to *Odo*'s release; foretelling however the mischiefs that would thence ensue. Having thus settled his affairs, he expired on *Thursday, Sept. 9*, at the hour of prime, presently after sun-rising, sooner than the physicians and those about him expected: and what is utterly unaccountable, the news of his decease reached the same day to *Rome*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*; as some *Norman* gentlemen, who had retired thither for refuge from his indignation, related upon their return to *Normandie*. As soon as his death was known, there was a strange confusion in the palace; for his son *Henry* flew immediately to the treasury, and carried off the money left him for a legacy to a place of safety: the nobility mounting all on horseback retired home, to secure their lands and castles against any attempt, that might be made during the troubles which they expected to arise; the officers of the household and the inferior ministers marched off with arms, plate, household stuff, and whatever came next to hand, leaving the palace a perfect desert, stripped of every thing that was valuable, and the dead prince's corpse all naked and unattended but by one servant; so little is a dead king respected. The same neglect was shewed towards it, when, pur-

¹ *Fragn. de H. C. in Anglie. Norman. &c.* p. 32. *Hacc*, p. 580. ² *Mabress*, l. iii. ³ *Neyfl.* p. 638. *Abbot. Angl.* t. ii. p. 958. ⁴ *Ord. Vital.* p. 659. ⁵ *Fragn. de H. C. in Anglie. Norman.* ⁶ *Hacc*, p. 585.

WILLIAM I.
A. D. 1087. suant to the orders of *William* archbishop of *Roüen*, it was carried to be interred : *Caen* in the church of *St. Stephen* ; not one of the late prince's court shewing much regard to his memory, as to attend the funeral ; the care of which was left entirely to *Herluin de Conteville*, who made it in a magnificent manner at his own expence.

SOME accidents attending it have been thought, by writers of the time, curious enough to be mentioned. When the corpse entered the town of *Caen*, it was attended by abbot *Gilbert* and his monks, with great numbers both of clergy and laity : but a fire breaking out in some houses of the place, every body ran to quench it ; leaving only the monks to carry the corpse into the church of *St. Stephen*. When the fire was stopped, the burial office was performed with great ceremony ; the funeral oration, recounting the heroic actions, conquests, valour, wisdom, justice, and other great qualities of the deceased monarch, being made by *Gilbert* bishop¹ of *Evreux*, who with six other *Norman* bishops, and a much greater number of abbots, attended the solemnity. They were going to inter the corpse, when one *Ascelin Fitz Arthur*, a vavasor, cleaving the press and mounting on a stone, called to the prelates, and discharged them from burying the corpse² in that place ; which had been the *area* of his father's house, and was now his right by inheritance : alledging that he had neither forfeited nor sold it, but *William* had seized his land by force, in order to build his monastery on it, without giving him any consideration for the same ; an injustice which he there summoned the deceased to answer before the divine tribunal. As soon as the tumult, which this speech had raised, was over, the prelates enquiring of the neighbours about the fact, and finding it to be as *Ascelin* had represented, and that the land had been for many generations in the family, agreed to give him sixty sols for leave to bury the corpse immediately : and promised to give him afterwards full satisfaction for his estate ; which was done accordingly. When the corpse was to be put in the ground, the grave was either found too narrow, or the stone coffin too streight, so that in trying to force it in, the belly burst, and sent forth such an intolerable stench, that none of the assistants at the funeral could bear to stay in the place ; and the priests, notwithstanding the perfumes of their frankincense and other aromatics, were forced to huddle over the office and conclude the ceremony in an hurry. Such were the principal circumstances of the death and burial of this *Conqueror of England*, after having ruled over this country twenty one years, wanting thirty five days, computing his reign from the death of *Harold* ; and been sovereign of *Normandie* fifty two years and sixty nine days ; dating his government from the death of his father *Robert*, which happened on *July 2, A. D. 1035*, and not from the time of that prince's setting out on his pilgrimage to the holy land. It is from this last *æra*, that *Wace* expressly does, and other historians probably³, compute ; when they represent him as not above nine years old when he came to the government : for he was certainly twelve at the time of his father's decease, if he lived sixty four years, as *Wace*⁴ and the *Fragment*⁵ about him in the *ancient register of the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen* say, he declared himself to be, in his speech on his death-bed.

THIS prince had strong natural parts and a solid judgment ; an aspiring genius, that put him upon great undertakings ; a capacity and prudence, which qualified him equally to foresee and provide against all the difficulties of an enterprize ; a firmness in his purposes, a steadiness in pursuing the measures he had resolved on coolly and judiciously ; with such a vigour and expedition in the execution of all his

¹ *Ord. Vit.* p. 662.² *Wace*, p. 588.³ *Gul. Gement.* l. v. c. 13.⁴ P. 584.⁵ *Anglic. Norman.* p. 30.

designs, that he seldom miscarried in any. It was to these qualities and talents, joined to his military skill, that he owed all his greatness, as well as that high esteem and general reputation, which paved the way for his mounting the throne of *England*. He was the greatest politician of the age: but his political measures had often as much in them of that craftiness, which is unworthy of a great king, and is fit only to serve a single job, as of that wisdom, whose honourable and virtuous maxims will ever be good policy, as long as the world subsists. He knew as well how to time, as to choose, his measures: and was perfectly well versed in the arts of government, which he exercised with great severity, either in consequence of his natural temper, which was haughty and imperious, or because he deemed it necessary, as well to curb the turbulent spirit which he had experienced in his *Normans*, as to strike a terror into the *English*, whose inconstancy and infidelity he ever suspected. He is said to have been religious¹, devout, a constant attender at divine service; very mild, courteous, and obliging to the monks and clergy; at the same time that he was sure to ruin every one who disputed his will; and was inexorable in all cases, wherever he met with opposition. No prince ever paid less regard to his coronation oath, or governed in a more arbitrary manner; extorting what sums he pleased from persons he did not like, without any regard to right or wrong; imprisoning, banishing, and destroying all the *English* nobility and gentry, or at least stripping them of their estates; oppressing the rest of the people in such a manner, as if he had formed the design of impoverishing them utterly, in order to enslave the nation; and depopulating a great part of the north; where by an inhumanity scarce to be *paralleled*, he caused infinite multitudes to perish by the sword, fire, and famine. He seems to have had no remorse for any of these cruelties and oppressions, till he saw death approaching; when perhaps by way of atonement for them, he left sums of money by his will to be distributed to the churches and the poor in every county of *England*: but either to ingratiate himself with the clergy, or out of deference to the remonstrances of *Lanfranc* and other² prelates, he took care to make an earlier reparation to the sees and monasteries, whose lands by his encouragement, or connivance, had been violently invaded by his *Norman* officers; ordering all their manors and possessions, which had been so seized, to be restored. Though he plundered all the rich convents in *England* of their treasures, changed the nature of their tenures, and loaded their lands with military services, he still pretended to be a great friend to the monastick institution: and in proof thereof, sent considerable presents to many foreign monasteries, made grants of lands to the abbays of *St. Denis* and *Marmouster* in *France*; and besides the two which he built in *Normandie*, by way of penance for his marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, founded also in *England*, the abbey of *Battel*; which he endowed richly, and invested with extraordinary privileges, particularly with an exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. This was a thing unknown before in this country: but the precedent being once created, it soon, through the weakness or mistaken piety of his successors, and the growing power of the court of *Rome*, became so general, as to lay the foundation of a prodigious number of disputes, and to be of infinite prejudice to ecclesiastical discipline.

As to his person, he was tall and large of stature; big bodied, but well proportioned; and bald in the forepart of his head; very robust; so strong in the arms that no body else could draw his bow; and of so vigorous a constitution, that he bore the greatest hardships without any prejudice to his health, and scarce

¹ *Ch. Sax. an. 1036. II. Hist. Anst. Waverl.*
vol. ii. App. 4.

² See the writs in *Brady's Hist. of England*,

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knew what it was to be sick, till the illness of which he died. This enabled him to be active in business, patient under fatigues, and always ready to march at the head of his troops with wonderful celerity, whenever his presence became necessary in an expedition. He had a noble presence, a dignity in his air, and a majesty in his countenance, which naturally commanded respect: but he had a sternness too, which mixed with the look of a warrior, could not fail of inspiring terror. His courage and firmness had been distinguished on too many occasions, to be called in question by any writer: and there appears as little reason, especially in his younger years, to suspect his chastity and continence. He was ambitious and grasping; fond of fame to excess, which made him appear vain-glorious: and this passion was perhaps the source of that magnificence, of which he made a great parade in his court, (especially at the three great festivals) of the mirth and pleasantries that he affected, and of the acts of grace, which he chose to do at those publick solemnities, that the foreign ambassadors attending them, might admire his grandeur, affability, and clemency. For otherwise¹ he was extremely rigid and imperious, valued nobody, and despised the hatred of all the world; a genuine effect of his pride and intrepidity. It is likewise universally agreed, that he was excessively covetous; though some are apt to doubt, whether in stripping the rich *English* of their wealth, and impoverishing the common people by heavy and illegal exactions, he had it not so much in his view to deprive malcontents of the sinews of war, as he had to fill his own coffers. What is related of his usury, of the sale of offices and governments, of the setting of his demesnes by auction to the highest bidder, and of turning out the tenants to whom they had been let, when any body offered an advanced price, with some other low and mean practices of a like nature, to which he stooped on occasion, cannot be ascribed to policy, so properly as they may to avarice; though both might contribute to render him that excellent manager of his revenue, which he is represented to be, by all writers. Whatever his vices or defects were, they were easily overlooked or obscured by his many great talents, and eminent virtues: to which he owed the making of his own fortune, and the success or felicity, which attended him in all his enterprizes.

His success in that of *England* proved very fatal to this country; notwithstanding what a polite² author, who hath wrote an account of his reign, rather out of his own imagination, than upon a careful examination of historical facts, says, of the advantages that accrued to it, by the additional strength of *Normandie*, and the incorporating of a multitude of *French* and *Normans* with the natives; by confirming our kings in their right to the dominion of the channel, the coast on both sides being from this time in their possession; by the increase of our shipping with which the *Normans* abounded, as well as of our commerce, and what is a consequence thereof, our treasure; by the improvement of our learning, civility, politeness, and language through the resort of strangers, and by the figure which we afterwards made abroad. But these advantages are rather imaginary than real: for whoever looks into *Domesday* book, and observes the difference in the number of inhabitants, and in the condition of the trading towns in *England*, between the time of *Edward the Confessor*, and the latter end of the *Conqueror's* reign, will have no reason to think, that either its trade or the number of its people were increased by the conquest. It is certain from the agreeing testimony of our old historians, that before that revolution, the wealth of this country, the result of a free commerce which she enjoyed with all the nations of *Europe*, uninterrupted by any hostilities, was the admiration and envy of all her neighbours, and if our trade

¹ *Chron. Sax.* II. Hunt.

² Sir William Temple.

hath been extended since, it was not so, early enough to be ascribed to the conquest: but hath been owing to other causes; to the encouragment given to it by later princes; to the discovery of the *Indies*; to the genius of the people; to the natural produce of this island, and to the great advantages of its situation. Our courts were as polite, the resort of strangers as great, and our dominion in the channel as well maintained, in the reigns of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, as ever they have been since: and the vanity of making a figure by our arms abroad, was undoubtedly gratified at too dear a rate, by an infinite profusion of our blood and treasure. Whereas the losses which the nation sustained by the conquest are too manifest to be disputed, and so general, as to affect all orders and degrees of people: such as the extinction of the ancient *Saxon* race of just, mild, and pious princes, who governed according to a well tempered constitution, and with so constant a moderation, that there scarce ever happened any disturbance in their reigns, but what arose from foreign invasions; the extirpation of all the considerable families among the *English* nobility; and an unhappy change in the customs, manners, and temper of the commonalty; the good meaning, the unaffected simplicity, the honest frankness, the frugality, quietness of disposition, and contentment of mind, which reigned among the *Saxons*, giving way to the ferocity, falsehood, cunning, luxury, haughty, violent, rapacious, restless, and turbulent spirit of the *Normans*; who being blended with the others propagated the infection of their vices. The feudal law, being introduced, wrought a general alteration in the nature of tenures, and brought upon the proprietors of land the hardships¹ of *premier seifins*, reliefs, scutages, fines for licenses of alienation, feudal homages and escheats, custody of persons and lands, and profits of estates during the minority of heirs, marriages of wards, prædial services, forfeitures of the lands of families upon the delinquency of the present possessor, and other burthens, unknown in the *Saxon* times, but perpetual subjects of complaints for many ages after the conquest. The simple, easy, speedy, sure, and unexpensive way of determining suits, obtaining redress, and administering justice in the hundred and county courts, according to the equitable maxims of the *Saxon* law, was in a little time superseded by *Norman* justiciaries, customs, and laws; and yielded to the niceties, intricacies, querks, formalities, and other subtle and litigious contrivances of *Norman* lawyers to defeat or delay justice, to puzzle a cause, and to render its issue doubtful, as well as its prosecution expensive; the inconveniencies whereof have been long felt, and as long the general subject of complaint; though with so little reformation, that they are still one of the heaviest grievances of the nation.

THESE are some of the calamities, in which *England* was involved by means of the conquest: but enormous as they are, they will yet be deemed much lighter, than what she felt by losing the benefit of her island situation; by shedding an ocean of her bravest blood; exhausting her substance; and being loaded with insupportable taxes, in supporting a long series of bloody wars on the continent; wherein she was embarked, without any interest or concern of her own, but purely for the sake of those foreign dominions, which came to be annexed to the crown by the conquest. These wars, though evidently ruinous to this nation, carried on under very great disadvantages, and always attended with some loss or other before they were intermitted, lasted from that time for near four hundred years; till we lost all the dominions in *France*, to which our kings had any pretensions. From this last event for the space of above two hundred and thirty years, which intervened between the loss of *Guienne* and the year 1688, we had not in all above six years war with *France* (exclusive of the reign of *Henry VIII*, whose

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¹ See *Reliq. Spelmanian*.

WILLIAM I. vanity and fondness for holding the balance of power in *Europe* involved us therein by fits) and had leisure, abilities, and opportunities to improve our commerce; till the powers concerned in the league of *Augsburg*, finding it necessary for their own purposes to embark *England* in their quarrel with *France*, contributed to the expedition, which brought about the revolution, and put the prince of *Orange* upon the throne; when foreign interests and considerations naturally taking place under a foreign prince, we were immediately engaged in the like destructive wars on the continent. It was constantly the unhappy fate of those wars in former ages, that though they began with some victory or action glorious to the *English*, they ever ended with loss and dishonour; the nature of things not allowing a war, unequally carried on, to be for any considerable length of time, successful: and it will puzzle the most zealous advocates for our late wars, to find out any benefit that hath thence accrued to this nation; whilst every body feels the insupportable load of debts and taxes, which have ruined most of the ancient families of our gentry, and sees the general corruption, with an infinity of other evils, which they have occasioned. When these will have an end, late posterity may possibly be able to tell: but we have been more fortunate in shaking off another terrible evil introduced by the conquest, I mean the usurpations of the court of *Rome*, and corruptions of the primitive doctrines and usages of *Christianity*, propagated here by the exorbitant power of the papacy; the growth whereof, and the numberless mischiefs which it brought upon this nation, will fully appear in the course of this history.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

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RUFUS.

*William Rufus
crowned king
of England.*

XXXIV. THE news of the *Conqueror's* death reached *William Rufus*, as he lay waiting at *Witsand* for a fair wind to waft him over into *England*: but he took care to conceal it, till he had taken proper measures for getting possession of the throne; in which he met with little difficulty, through the friendship of *Lanfranc*, who had knighted him, and been entrusted with the care of his education. This prelate had great credit with all the world: and easily engaged the rest of the bishops, the abbots, and the most considerable of the nobility in his interest. Whilst these were assembling, *William* hastened to *Winchester*; where he put *Wulneth* and *Morcar*, who, being set at liberty by his father, had come over with him, in prison, and secured all the late king's treasure. In the mean time his friend *Eudo*, son of *Hubert de Rie*, and steward to the *Conqueror*, had visited *William de Pontdelarche*, and all the governors of castles and fortresses in *Kent* and *Suffex*: and having engaged these in favour of *Rufus*, came to him at *Winchester*; where *William*, seeing himself master of *Dover*, *Hastings*, *Pevensey*, and all the coast that lay convenient for a landing from *Normandie*; the barons of which country, with his elder brother *Robert* at their head, might probably attempt to give some disturbance to his projects, he thought it proper to make his father's death publick. There was no reason, if it had been practicable, to defer it longer: and it behoved him above all things to hasten his coronation; because abundance of the nobility in *England* favoured *Robert* as the right heir, and thought him unjustly disinherited. *Lanfranc* accordingly having got together the archbishop of *York*, with eight

^a *Eadmer. p. 13. Gul. Neubrig. l. i. c. 2.*

other bishops, and some of the principal nobility¹, crowned him at *Westminster*, on *Sunday, September 27*, being the feast of *St. Cosme*² and *Damian*; when the new king swore, as well to observe justice, equity, and mercy in all his conduct, as to maintain the peace, liberties, and privileges of the church, and promised to follow the archbishop's counsels in all his administration. *William* found in his father's treasury sixty thousand pounds weight of silver; besides gold, jewels, vestments, and other things of inestimable value: and having distributed to the churches and counties the particular sums devised by the late king's will, bestowed a good part of the rest in largesses to the soldiery, to fix them in his service.

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XXXV. *Robert*³ was, with some young noblemen that followed his fortune, at *Abbeville*, when he received the news of his father's decease: and departing thence immediately for *Rouen*, took possession of *Normandie* without any opposition, and was invested with the sword of the duchy. This prince, with all the vigour in action, the adroitness in military exercises, the courage, skill, and experience, which distinguished him in matters of war above all the generals of the age, and with a capacity and judgment which enabled him to give wise advice in others affairs, had some moral defects in his mind; which having too great an influence on his conduct, bereaved him of the benefits he might else have received from his great talents and good qualities: and whilst they kept his friends from depending upon him, exposed him, at the same time, to the derision and contempt of his enemies. He was lazy and indolent; given to pleasures, wine, women, and play; which so bewitched him, and engrossed his time and thoughts, that he minded nothing of the government of his people; suffering them to be oppressed, and letting every one do as he listed, without interposing his authority to prevent any of the mischiefs, which continually happened. He had an infinite deal of good nature, and was desirous to oblige every body: unsteady in his measures, and changeable in his resolutions; compassionate to all in distress, or that applied to him for grace or relief; soft and mild in doing justice, and punishing injuries; easy of access, and too kind in conversation, without a proper distinction of persons, whilst he studied to please all; thus promising lightly to all that applied to him for favours, and granting with a lavish hand whatever was asked, he soon grew poor by enriching others, and was daily lessening the demesne of his predecessors by an inconsiderate prodigality. It was natural for a prince of this turn of mind, though he claimed, as the inheritance of his ancestors, whatever he succeeded to, upon his father's death, to distribute to the churches and monasteries of his duchy, the legacies devised by his will, and to distribute the rest of his treasures among the soldiery; observing herein the same conduct with his brother *Rufus*, though probably out of a different motive. The actions of this last were directed entirely by political views; being an utter stranger to all those sentiments of generosity which *Robert* shewed on all occasions, and particularly in his treatment of *Ulf*, son to the usurper *Harold*, and of *Duncan*, natural son to *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, whom he knighted and set at liberty. *Robert*, less politick and provident than his brother, followed the natural disposition of his mind, without ever reflecting on the consequences; though he saw his goodness abused, and his authority insulted, from the first moment he took possession of his duchy. *Robert de Belesme*, eldest son of *Roger* earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*, and the heir of his great estate in *Perche* and *Normandie*, presuming on the duke's softness and indolence, had, upon the news of the *Conqueror's* decease, surprized *Alençon*, *Belesme*, and several castles in the neighbourhood belonging to others, lest

Character of
Robert duke
of *Normandie*.

¹ *M. Paris. Chron. Petriburg. Walf. Ypod. Neustr. p. 440. IV. Malmesb. l. iv.* ² *Eadmer. ib.*
³ *Gul. Gamet. interpol. l. viii. c. 2. Ord. Vit. p. 664.*

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they should oppose him in his designs. This however did not hinder him from giving others of the strongest fortresses in his dominions to persons; whose power was too great already, and whose fidelity he had reason to suspect. Thus he gave the castle of *Yvry* to *William de Breteuil*; and to make some amends to *Roger*, count of *Beaumont*, for the government which he lost by that grant, put him in possession of *Briofne*, which lay much more commodious for him, and was the strongest place in all *Normandie*; and the more considerable, as lying in the heart of the dutchy. *William*, count of *Evreux*, seized *Dangu*, driving out the duke's garrison; and *Ralf de Conches*, and most of the nobility made themselves masters of fortresses in other parts of the country: which being ravaged continually by so many different parties of freebooters, became a miserable scene of rapine and bloodshed.

A. D. 1088.

Insurrection
in England.

XXXVI. *Odo*, bishop of *Bayeux*, a prelate of great magnificence and unmeasurable ambition; ever unquiet in his nature, and full of great designs, was upon the recovery of his liberty, become the first councillor to *Robert*: and had the chief direction of the affairs of the dutchy. His earldom of *Kent*, and all his vast estate in *England*, had been seized by the *Conqueror*: and it doth not appear, whether they were restored to him before, or after, his going over into *England*, when *William Rufus* was keeping his *Christmas* at *London*; into whose favour he at that time insinuated himself, and was actually in possession of all that he had formerly enjoyed in this kingdom. This restitution did not reconcile him heartily to *William*, nor make him drop the designs which, either to serve *Robert*, or with a view to his own interest, he had formed with *Eustace*, count of *Boulogne*, *Robert de Belesme*, and other *Norman* barons, for putting the latter of those princes upon the throne of *England*. These noblemen having great estates in *England*, as well as *Normandie*, found it inconvenient to be obliged to serve two masters, likely enough to be perpetually at variance: and thinking the tenure of their lands in the former country to be very precarious, whilst *William* was upon the throne, formed a design to depose him, and unite both countries under the dominion of *Robert*; to whom they belonged by right of primogeniture. The temper, manners, and qualities of the two brothers were compared on this occasion; the generosity, mildness, and good nature of the elder extolled; the haughty, violent, arbitrary, and cruel disposition of the younger set forth in lively colours, and with all the art that *Odo's* talents of insinuation and address could suggest. This prelate was the chief manager of the conspiracy, and drew some of the greatest men in *England* to engage in it; particularly his brother *Robert* count of *Mortain*, *Geffery* bishop of *Coutances*, *Roger* earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Hugh de Grentemesnil*, and even *William de S. Carilef*, bishop of *Durham*; who was in high favour with *Rufus*, and acted as his chief minister. These and others, having fortified their castles, resolved to take up arms, and raise what forces they could in their several quarters; *Odo* beginning first to rise in *Kent* at the latter end of *Lent*, and when he had got a sufficient force together, falling, after *Easter*, on the king's and archbishop's lands; seizing their castles and plundering the country. *Grentemesnil* rose at the same time in the counties of *Leicester* and *Northampton*; *Roger Bigot* seized the castle of *Norwich*; *Geffery* of *Coutances* and *William de Eu* being in possession of the castle of *Bristol*, marched from thence to *Bath* and *Berkeley*, which they took; and having ravaged all the neighbouring parts of *Gloucestershire*, passed into *Wilts*, which they treated in the same manner, and entering the south-west quarter of *Somerset*, sat down before *Ilchester*; but were there repulsed by the bravery of the besieged. Nor had *Ber-*

ard de Neumarché, lord of *Brecknock*, *Osbern Fitz Richard*, surnamed *Scrop*, *Roger de Lacey*, and *Ralf de Mortimer*, with other barons of *Herefordshire* and *Salop* bet-
 ter success in their attack of *Worcester*; being obliged, by bishop *Wulstan* and the
 forces which he drew to his assistance, to raise the siege, and quit the county.

THE king, though he knew of the conspiracy, would not in all probability have been able to have weathered the storm¹ which was falling upon him, if he had not been supported by *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, *Robert Fitz Hamon*, lord of *Gloucester*, *Robert de Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, *William de Warenne*, and other great men, who took up arms for him against the insurgents in their neighbourhood; and especially by *Lanfranc*, who kept all the prelates steady to his interest. He had likewise the address, by great promises to gain over *Roger*, earl of *Shrewsbury*; which broke the force of the malecontents on the marches of *Wales*: but nothing did him so much service, or contributed so much to enable him to reduce his enemies, as the assistance he received from the natural *English*. This he procured by fine² promises of giving them better laws, of easing them of unjust tolls and burdensome taxes, and allowing them a free liberty of hunting; promises which probably he never meant to perform, or at least forgot, when the danger was over; for he soon after enhanced the rigour of the forest-laws, not only making it capital to kill a deer, but introducing also a new method to disable gentlemen from sporting, by lawing their dogs; and oppressed the people more than ever. The *English* however, and particularly the *Londoners*, gained by fair words, raised thirty thousand men³ in his favour: and *William* putting himself at their head, advanced to besiege the castle of *Tunbridge*; of which *Gilbert Fitz Richard* was governor or proprietor. The place surrendering in two days, the king marched with his army towards *Rocheſter*; whither *Odo* and the chief of the malecontents had retired, as to a place of the greatest strength and safety, and the most convenient for receiving succours from *Normandie*. His view was by making himself master of the place, and of their persons, to put an end at once to the insurrection: but *Odo*, upon advice of his march, being apprehensive of his design, had got off in time to his brother *Robert's* castle of *Pevenſey*, on the coast of *Suffex*. *William*, quitting his former design, followed him thither; and after six weeks siege, took it by famine: *Odo* being able to obtain no better conditions than to have his life saved, on condition of abjuring the realm, and prevailing with the garrison of *Rocheſter* to surrender. He was carried thither under a small *escorte* for that purpose; but when they came before it, count *Eustace* of *Boulogne*, *Robert de Beſſin*, and other noblemen within the place, either by concert with him, or of their own motion, sallied out, and surrounding the convoy, brought the whole party prisoners into the castle; where *Odo* himself, perhaps to colour his collusion, was kept under confinement. *William* came up soon after with his whole army, and took the town; the garrison retiring into the castle: where they held out a considerable time in expectation of the succours which *Robert* had promised to send them from *Normandie*; but had been disabled by the exhausted state of his exchequer from sending with that expedition, which was necessary. At last having, upon a mortgage of the *Coſtentin* to his brother *Henry*, borrowed of him the sum of three thousand pounds, he raised a small body of forces, which he embarked immediately for the relief of his friends; proposing to follow soon after with a greater. But these succours being met at sea, and intercepted by the men of the cinque ports, and a pestilential sickness breaking out in the castle, the noblemen within offered to surrender, if they might enjoy their lands and estates; a condition which the king re-

¹ *Ord. Vit.* p. 667.
² *Chron. Walter. Hemingford.* *Alured. Brerl.* *Flor. Wig.*

³ *Ord. Vit.*

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jected as insolent and unreasonable, resolving to take the place by force, and punish all the defendants capitally. But the chief nobility, that adhered to him in this time of danger, having many relations within the castle, interceded so strongly in their behalf: and were so well seconded by the prelates about him, that he gave them at last leave to march out with their horses and arms; and allowed them to retire abroad, but without any hopes of being restored, during his life, to their estates. The castle of *Durham* was yet in the enemies hands: but a body of troops being sent against it, the bishop gave it up immediately, and retired to *Normandie*, where he passed three years in exile; a party that many other *Normans* took at the same time, quitting their estates, which the king distributed among those that had served him faithfully during this insurrection.

A. D. 1089.
Death of
Lanfranc, and
ill govern-
ment of
Rufus.

XXXVII. THIS unsuccessful attempt against *Rufus* established him so firmly upon the throne of *England*, that all the arbitrary proceedings, illegal exactions, grievous oppressions of the people, and evil treatment of all orders of men throughout the nation, by which the future part of his administration was distinguished, could never spirit up the desponding subject to another insurrection. *Lanfranc*, having lived long enough to serve him greatly on the late occasion, when he would probably have been ruined without the support of a statesman of his abilities, and a prelate of his authority, credit, and influence, died soon after; seasonably enough to allow him to take the full swing of his natural inclinations, without fearing the reproaches of so troublesome a monitor¹; expiring the year following, on *May 24*, and being buried four days after in *Christ-Church, Canterbury*. *William* had been forced, during this prelate's life, to put a restraint upon the haughtiness, rapaciousness, avarice, and cruelty of his temper; but now giving a loose to his passions, he loaded the land with new exactions, and the church with grievances unheard of before, despising² all the world, and not caring what enemies he created. The chief instrument he made use of in all his methods of oppression, who is represented likewise as the chief suggester and contriver of those methods, was *Ralf Flambard*, styled by *Ordericus*³ a plebeian, and said to be the son of a presbyter of *Bayeux*; yet he seems to have been no inconsiderable man in the time of the *Conqueror*, being mentioned in *Domesday book* as one of the king's immediate tenants by knight-service in *Hampshire*. The same author gives him an ill character, charging him with prodigality, luxury, libertinism, ambition, and avarice, as well as with flattering the king in his vices: he had certainly gained by some means or other a great ascendant over his master, had his ear on all occasions, and was his reigning favourite, governing the kingdom under him with a power little less than absolute. This looks as if he was chief justiciary of the realm; the power of which dignity was perhaps necessary for the execution of his schemes: and it was probably on account of this great office⁴ of the crown, that before he came to be a prelate, he had a seat in the *great council* of the nobility of the kingdom; where being a man of distinguished parts and elocution, he affected to be the principal person in all debates, and to have the chief sway in directing the resolutions of those assemblies. This rendered him odious to the great men, whom he took upon him to menace on certain occasions, and overtopped always in the king's favour, to whose interests he was entirely devoted: and by putting him on several arbitrary and oppressive expedients, had incensed the common people against himself, whom they considered as the first author of all their grievances. It was not at first thought difficult to remove a man lying under a general odium; frequent complaints and accusations

¹ *Ang. Sacr.* t. i. 108. *Gervas. Acta Pont. Cant.* col. 1655.
p. 678.

⁴ *Continuat. Sim. Dun. Hist. Ecclesie Dun.* c. 1. totius regni procurator.

² *Ingulph.*

³ *Ord. Vital.*

were brought against him : but his prince finding him useful for his purposes, and sticking at nothing to execute his will, they proved fruitless ; and all other means to get rid of him failing, his enemies resolved to proceed to extremities. One *Gerold*, a crafty, daring, enterprizing man, taking a few persons with him in a barge, went to *Ralph*, and told him, that *Maurice*, bishop of *London* (to whom he had been chaplain before he entered into the king's service) was lying at the point of death at his house on the *Thames*, and being extremely desirous to speak with him before he expired, had sent his barge to fetch him with greater expedition. *Ralf*, mistrusting nothing, went on board the vessel : and though he thought it a long while before they touched the shore, yet *Gerold*, who had made down the river towards the sea, excusing it on the account of getting to a more convenient place for landing, which lay but at a little distance further, he had no suspicion of any harm designed him, till he saw a large ship in the middle of the river lying at anchor, as if to wait his coming. He was put on board ; and seeing it full of armed men, concluded that there was no possibility of making his escape : to prevent however any disturbance being made in the kingdom by counterfeit orders, which his enemies might think fit to issue, he took care to throw the ring that he wore on his finger, making his notary also throw his seal, into the midst of the river. His attendants were then set on shore ; having been first obliged to swear, they would tell no mortal what was become of their master : and the ship was got out of the river, sailing southward, when two murderers, hired by the promised reward of his cloaths to dispatch him, quarrelling who should have his mantle, the richest of his vestments, caused some delay in his execution. A terrible storm arising, and driving the ship towards the land, caused a greater : and occasioned likewise some remorse in the person that had the second command in the vessel ; who apprizing *Ralf* of the danger he was in, offered to venture his life in defending him, if he might have his pardon. *Ralf* taking courage upon this, represented to *Gerold* the iniquity of his design ; and promising him great rewards, if he landed him safe, the man, either tempted by these, or afraid he should not be able to execute what he proposed, put into port ; and entertained him nobly in his own house, seated on the sea side ; but not daring to trust to the promises made him, fled abroad soon after, and died in exile. *Ralf* sending for soldiers from all parts, was convoyed to *London* ; which he entered with great pomp, to the amazement of all the world, who had concluded him dead upon the report of his being kidnapped : but now saw him more rivetted than ever in the king's favour ; none of his enemies daring to attack him after the miscarriage of this attempt.

AMONG other expedients of this man's invention for filling the king's coffers (to say nothing of those by which he fleeced and impoverished the common people) there were two which immediately affected the most considerable of the clergy and laity, and are particularly taken notice of by historians. One of these was a new survey of all the lands of *England*, the quantity and value whereof, as *Ralf* maintained, had not been rightly set forth and ascertained in that lately made by the *Conqueror* ; no oaths being capable of binding assessors to give in a just account of their extent and valuation, in cases where their own, their neighbours, and their lords interests are materially concerned. There was undoubtedly some truth in this assertion, *Ingliff* freely acknowledging, that his monastery of *Croyland* had been so favoured in lessening the quantity and value of its lands in the *Domesday* survey : and it is very likely that other monasteries and great lords met with the like favour ; which now gave occasion to their lands being surveyed over again. There was a good deal of oppression in the execution of this project of a new survey : for

WILLIAM where the number of acres was found to exceed the proportion of the former entry, the king not only resumed the overplus to himself, but raised also the tax upon the remainder to an higher rate, than the whole was charged with before. Both clergy and laity were affected by this expedient: but the former were the only sufferers in the other, which is likewise imputed to *Ralf*; who being the king's oracle or chief minister in all matters of his revenue, ought naturally to bear the blame of advising him to seize the revenues of sees and abbeyes upon the decease of a bishop or abbot; allowing the chapter or convent only a slender pension for their maintenance. It had been the custom in *England*, before the *Norman* conquest, for the bishop of the diocese, wherein a monastery was seated, to make, upon the death of its superior, an inventory of all its goods and chattels, and to sequester the profits for the use of the convent, till the choice or installation of a new abbot. The archbishop likewise, when any of the suffragans of his province died, took the revenue of the bishoprick into his hands: and, with the consent of the dean and chapter, disposed of it to pious and charitable uses. But the case was much altered after the conquest; when prelates, instead of holding their lands by *Frank-almoigne*, subject to no secular burden, as they had done before, were forced to hold them by barony and military services, according to the usages of the feudal law introduced by the *Conqueror*; who thought it necessary for the defence of the realm to subject the lands of ecclesiasticks to the same services as those of laicks, to which they had been originally subject, before they were disposed of by the owners to churches and monasteries, and were in consequence thereof exempted by the piety of our *Saxon* princes. In virtue of that law, as a knight's-fee, when there was no vassal upon it, and the heir was, by reason of his minority, incapable of doing homage for it, was taken into the king's hands, till one came that was able and obliged to perform the services incident to the fief, so the lands of sees and abbacies, and the temporal jurisdiction annexed thereto, devolved to the crown upon a vacancy, and our kings were entitled to the profits thereof, till those prelacies were filled. The *Conqueror*, indeed, more desirous to fill up ecclesiastical dignities with persons attached to his interests, than to let them continue vacant in order to enjoy their revenues, either out of religion or policy, at *Lanfranc's* instance, or to keep some measures with his prelates in a tender point, where it could not be pretended that the safety of the realm was so materially concerned, as it was in subjecting their lands to other feudal services, did not make use of his right to the profits of such vacancies in *England*; though he enjoyed them in *Normandie*; and the kings of *France* had done the same in their dominions, not only from the reign of *Hugh Capet*, but (as appears from *Hincmar's* letters) in the time of the *Carolinian* race, and probably from the introduction of the *Lombard* or feudal customs into that kingdom. But *Rufus*, a prince who feared neither God nor man, and did not care whom he disobliged, seized all those profits to his own use; and to enjoy them the longer, kept sees and abbacies vacant for several years together, to the great disservice of the church, and the general clamour of the whole nation: which he so little regarded, that all our old historians agree, he had no less than three of the richest bishopricks, and eleven or twelve abbacies, in his hands, at the time of his decease. Avarice was the motive of this part of his conduct: and though his successors are not charged with that mean vice, yet this grievance continued, not indeed in the same scandalous degree, so low as the reign of king *Stephen*.

His measures
to distress
Robert in
Normandie.

XXXVIII. WILLIAM's exactions¹ and oppressions gave encouragement, as well as provocation, to a conspiracy against him, formed by several prelates and noblemen: but

¹ *Ingulf*.

it was easily dissipated by the gaining over some concerned in it, and by the banishment of others, particularly of *Ivo Taillebois*. Freed from all apprehensions at home, he resolved to carry his arms abroad, and to give his brother *Robert* as much disturbance in *Normandie* as he had caused him in *England*; for which a favourable opportunity now offered. *Robert's* remissness, in letting people do what they would, and in not punishing malefactors, had filled the towns and country with robbers, who did not spare the churches, and plundered even the lands of the clergy with impunity. The whole province was a scene of terrible disorders, where rapines, murders, burnings, rapes, and all manner of crimes were daily committed: and no measures being taken to repress these violences, the country was depopulated exceedingly, and every body discontented at the government for that neglect. *Henry* too, who enjoyed the *Costentin* by way of mortgage, being perhaps apprehensive that *Robert* might resume it; which seems to be the reason of his arming and exercising the people of the country as soon as he got possession of it: or else thinking it proper on other accounts to be well with his brother *William*, whom he saw triumphant and firmly settled in *England*, had gone over thither the precedent year, as soon the insurrection was quelled. His pretence for the voyage was to get possession of his mother's lands in that kingdom, which was accordingly given him; but he made use of it likewise to bring about a reconciliation between his brother *Rufus* and *Robert de Belesme*, the fittest person to set all *Normandie* in a flame, and the most able to serve him in keeping possession of the *Costentin*. This *Robert* accompanying him in his return from *England* in autumn, it was suggested to the duke of *Normandie*, that they had entered into measures with *Rufus*, to distress him in his government and drive him out of his dutchy; and the appearances seemed so strong in favour of this notion, that *Odo* bishop of *Bayeux*, whom he consulted on the occasion, advised him to put them both under an arrest at their landing. The orders given for this purpose were faithfully executed, and they were confined in two different places; the one at *Bayeux*, the other at *Noyelles*, in the custody of *Odo*. *Robert de Belesme*, son of *Roger de Montgomery* earl of *Shrewsbury*, had an head fit to contrive, and an heart capable of undertaking any mischief or enterprize whatever; he was crafty, tricking, eloquent, bold in arms, indefatigable in action, infinitely covetous, cruel, and debauched: but with all the ill qualities that can enter into the composition of a profligate wretch, he had abundance of partizans attached to him, on account as well of his intrepid courage, as his great wealth and power, arising from his large possessions in *Perche* and *Normandie*, and the territory he had acquired in *Picardie*, by the marriage of *Agnes*, daughter to *Guy* late count of *Ponthieu*.

UPON the news of his son's imprisonment², *Roger* earl of *Shrewsbury* came over into *Normandie*, under the pretext of procuring his release; but in concert with the king of *England*, and in order to promote his designs upon the dutchy; the first step he took being to fortify his castles against his natural sovereign, and to engage his brothers to do the same by those of *Belesme*, *Axey*, *Alençon*, *Danfront*, *S. Genery*, *La Roche de Sangey*, which they either owned or surprized. These proceedings ought naturally to alarm duke *Robert*: but such was his indolence, that all the instances of the bishop of *Bayeux*, supported by the advice of his whole council, were scarce sufficient to make him act with vigour in such an exigence. At last he levied an army with the assistance of *William* count of *Eureux*, *Ralf de Conches*, and *William de Breteuil*: and marching to *le Mans* received there the homages of *Geffrey de Mayenne*, *Robert de Bourgogne*, and *Helie de la Fleche*, who joined him with their forces. Marching thence he took the castle of *Balon*, after a brave defence made

¹ *Ord. Vit.* p. 672.² *Ibid.* p. 673.

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by the besieged: and *S. Celerin*, a strong castle built on a rock, surrounded on three sides by the *Sarte*, and the ordinary residence of *Robert Belesme*, being reduced by famine, he gave it to *Robert de Geroy*, a gallant man, to whom it originally belonged, before it was usurped by the *Takvas* family. The garrison having committed great ravages in the country, the duke ordered the eyes of *Quarrel*, the governor, to be put out, and his soldiers to be maimed in some limb or other; a severity which struck such a terror into the garrisons of *Alençon*, *Belesme*, and other places belonging to the earl of *Shrewsbury*, that they were ready to surrender upon the first summons. But *Robert* stopping short in the midst of his success, out of mere laziness and fondness for his pleasures, and dismissing his troops, returned to *Reims*: where he soon after took another step full as prejudicial to his affairs; for the earl employing some friends to make his peace and intercede for his son's release, the duke, out of an easiness of nature which did not allow him to deny any request, set *Robert de Belesme* at liberty. The ill consequences of this impolitic measure soon appeared in the behaviour of *Robert*; who, instead of being obliged by this act of grace, despised the duke for it; meditated revenge for his imprisonment; and for fifteen years following employed all his time and force in ravaging his country; seizing some or other of his demesnes, and debauching his subjects from their allegiance. The cantons of *Alençon* and *Seez* became immediately a theatre of cruelty and rapine; *Geffrey* count of *Mortagne* and others took up arms against that turbulent nobleman; burnt some of his towns; and all *Normandie*, being embarked in particular quarrels, was falling into ruin and desolation: whilst the duke, minding only his pleasures, took no care to redress those disorders; and as if his government was not already distressed enough, set his brother *Henry* at liberty.

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RUFUS seeing the situation of *Normandie* favourable to his designs, communicated them to his council: and by their advice resolved upon an invasion of the country; pretending that he made it purely for the general good of the *Normans*, and for the defence of the churches oppressed by continual sacrileges. Money was his chief instrument of government, and employing trusty persons with large sums to corrupt the *Norman* nobility and draw them over to his party, *Walter* of *S. Valery* and *Stephen d'Aumale*, son of *Odo* count of *Champagne*, declared for him: and admitted *English* garrisons into their castles. *Girard de Gournay* secured *Gournay*, *la Ferté*, *Gaille-fontaine* and other fortresses: and *Robert* count of *Eu*, *Walter Giffard*, *Ralf de Mortemer*, with most of the barons of *Caux* and *Bray*, following their examples, fortified their castles at *William's* expence, and engaged to further his designs. All the country north of the *Seine* was now in danger of being lost: and *Robert* had no better party to take for saving it, than to give his natural daughter in marriage to *Helie* son of *Lambert de St. Saen*, with the castles of *Arches*, *Bures*, and the territories adjacent, in order to secure the *Pais de Caux*; a charge which he executed with great vigour and an inviolable fidelity. The duke applying also to the court of *France* for succours, the king came in person to his assistance with a great army; and they both sat down before *S. Valery*: but *Philip* having touched a sum of *English* money, quitted the siege abruptly; and retiring home with his forces, left *Robert* to make what agreement he could with his brother. The duke was in no condition to make it with advantage, being distressed in another part of his dominions by a conspiracy of the *Manceaux*; who resolving to throw off the *Norman* yoke, and to have a prince of their own, had thoughts of sending for *Hugh*, the second son of *Azzo*, marquis of *Liguria*, by his wife, whose daughter to *Hugh II*, count of *Maine*. *Robert* having notice of the design, ima-

gined he might prevent it by the influence of *Fulk Rechin*, count of *Anjou*; and being confined to his bed by a slight indisposition, sent for him to *Roüen*; informed him of the conspiracy; and desired his assistance to keep the *Manceaux* in obedience. *Fulk* was ready to undertake it, provided he would give him in marriage the fair *Bertrade* (daughter to *Simon de Montfort*, and niece to *William* count of *Evreux*) who was then at his court, being under the tuition of her aunt the countess *Heloise*. There were material objections to the match; besides the vast disparity of age between the parties; for the old count had already divorced two wives, who were both living: and these the young lady's uncle insisted on, till his consent was purchased by the grant of several castles, to which he and his family had some pretensions. *Fulk*, in his way home with his young wife, passed through *le Mans*; and got a promise from the nobility of the country, that they would be quiet for a year: but upon the expiration of that term, they drove out the *Norman* garrisons (notwithstanding the opposition made, and the interdict issued out by their bishop *Hoel*) sent for *Hugh* abovementioned; and finding him silly, lazy, indolent, a downright coward, and utterly unfit for their purpose, got him to sell his right for ten thousand sols to *Helie de la Fleche*; who held the county for twenty years, governing it all the time with great justice and prudence.

ROBERT's endeavours to oblige people by granting their demands, proved of as little service to him, as the temporary expedients he made use of to defer calamities; both contributing to lessen his power and demesnes. *Robert* count of *Meulan* in right of his mother, proud of *Rufus*'s favours to him and his brother *Henry de Newbourg*, earl of *Warwick*, and animated by that king's promises, came over from *England*, to demand the fortrefs of *Ivry*; as belonging to his father, who had exchanged it with the *Conqueror* for *Briofne*: and upon the duke's refusal of a demand, unreasonable in itself, and made with arrogance, broke out into such threats, that he was imprisoned for his insolence, and to prevent his doing mischief. The crafty old man his father, *Roger* count of *Beaumont*, repaired hereupon to court, commended what the duke had done; and insinuating himself into his favour, found means not only to procure his son's liberty, but to get from him *Briofne*, the strongest fortrefs in *Normandie*; which *Robert*, son of *Baldwin de Meulles*, whose inheritance it had been, was forced to quit, not indeed without a recompence, such as his eminent merits and faithful services well deserved. It hath been already observed, that the civil wars between noble families, which reigned in *Normandie*, were an effect of the duke's remissness in government: he now began to feel the ill consequences thereof in the conduct of *Ralf de Conches*; who in his quarrel with the count of *Evreux*, finding himself inferior to his adversary, applied for succour to *Rufus*; who immediately ordered the count of *Aumale*, *Gournay*, and others of his partizans, to march to his assistance. Prince *Henry* had no reason to be satisfied with either of his brothers; with the eldest on account of his imprisonment, and with the younger, for having deprived him of the honour of *Gloucester*, part of his mother's estate in *England*, and given it to *Robert Fitz Hamon*. Thus able to depend on neither, he took proper measures for his own security, by fortifying *Avranches*, *Cherbourg*, *Coutances*, *Gavre*, and others places which he had in his hands; by engaging several of the great barons in his interests; and by endearing his government to the people of *Costentin*; who lived in peace, whilst all other parts of the dutchy were full of troubles. But as he had more reason to dread the power and designs of *Rufus* than those of *Robert*, he did the latter a very important and seasonable service in opposition to the former; who had by his intrigues, bribes, and promises got a strong party among the citizens

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WILLIAM of *Roüen*, and formed a design for surprizing the city. *Robert* did not discover it, till it was on the point of execution, and then sent in all haste to his brother *Henry*, the counts of *Evreux* and *Breteuil*, and *Gilbert de l'Aigle*; acquainting them with the distress he was in, and desiring their assistance. *Henry* flew immediately to his succour, and the baron *de l'Aigle*, was on the third of *November* advanced to the *Bridge-gate* on one side of the town¹, as *Reginald de Warrenne*, with a body of *English* troops, was on the other side let in at the *Porte Cauchoise* by the conspirators; who taking arms endeavoured to oppose the baron's entrance. To facilitate it, the duke and his brother sallied out of the castle: and having joined him, drove out the *English* forces, and took a bundance of the rebels prisoners; the ring-leader whereof, one *Conan*, son of *Gilbert Pilate*, was put to death, and *Robert* would have set the rest immediately at liberty, if the *Norman* barons, who had come to his succour, had not prevented it, in order to get large sums for their ransom.

THE miscarriage of this design made the king of *England* resolve to carry his point by open force: and passing the sea with a great army in the beginning of the *February* following, he landed near² *Ville d'Eu*; where his friends resorted to him, and he was visited by most of the nobles of *Normandie*. Several of these had estates in both countries, and were by interest obliged to prevent hostilities; which might occasion a forfeiture of some of their lands, to whatever side they adhered: and they laboured so earnestly for an accommodation, that it was at last made on the following conditions. *William* was to retain the county of *Eu*, the castle of *Aumale*, the lands of his adherents *Girard de Gournay* and *Ralf de Conches*, the abbey of *Fescamp*, and all other places which he had taken; and to make *Robert* amends with lands of the like value in *England*; promising also to restore the *English* estates of such as had forfeited by taking part with his brother; to recover for him the county of *Maine*, and all the fortresses and places in *Normandie*, that held out against his authority; and to reduce all the rebel *Normans* to his obedience. By another article it was stipulated, that, in defect of issue, they should be heirs to each others dominions: and twelve of the most considerable barons on each side having sworn to the performance of the covenants, the two princes went together to *Roüen*. Whether prince *Henry* conceived himself affected by the article for reducing all places that did not acknowledge the authority of his brother *Robert*, who required him to restore the *Cosentin*, or imagined that this agreement of his elder brothers might produce something in another respect to his prejudice, he seized *Mont S. Michael*, with the consent of the religious: and from thence made incursions into the adjoining country. *Robert* and *William* having taken possession of all the *Cosentin*, advanced to the siege of the place, which was well defended; the garrison making frequent sallies: in one of which *William* was beaten from his horse, and on the point of being slain, had not his crying out, and discovering who he was, stopped the hand which was lifted up to dispatch him; an action which the king offered to reward, by taking the soldier that did it into his service. During this siege, *Robert's* good nature shewed itself more effectually than in words; for *Henry* being in want of fresh water, and desiring he might be supplied with what nature had provided for all in common, he not only allowed the besieged to take what quantity they pleased, but sent his brother some pieces of wine for his table. *Rufus* complained of this as an impolitick step; the furnishing an enemy with victuals not being a likely way to reduce him: but *Robert* justified the action by the affection due to a brother, to whom he still let some supplies get in, tho' not sufficient for the support of the garrison; which was at last forced to surrender:

¹ *Ord. l'it.* p. 690. ² *Ibid.* p. 692. *Flor. Hist.* *W. Malmsh.* l. iv. ³ *Ord. l'it.* p. 694.

and *Henry* retiring first to *Britain*, and thence into the *Vexin François*, wandered about for two years, with a very small retinue, and under some difficulties for subsistence.

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XXXIX. WHILST *William* was thus engaged in *Normandie*, *Malcolm* ¹ king of *Scotland* had taken the opportunity of his absence to invade *England*, and entering *Northumberland* in *May*, ravaged the country: but retired upon the approach of *Rufus* and his brother *Robert*; who had both come over from *Normandie* upon the news of this invasion. The two brothers advanced with an army to *Scot-water* ²; where *Malcolm* sent them word, that he owed nothing to *William*, and could make him no offer, except of battle: but if *Robert* was there, he was ready to do him homage, as the eldest son of *William the Conqueror*; who had made him promise to obey that son, when he confirmed to him the grant of *Lothian*. This message occasioned a council of war; in which, as the army was greatly fatigued, and they had lost abundance of horses by hunger and cold in their march, and the fleet, on which they depended for supplies, had been cast away three days before *Michaelmas*, by which disaster most of the forces on board had perished before they could land in *Scotland* to make a diversion; it was thought adviseable to make up matters, if possible, rather than run the hazard of a battle, or the dangers of a retreat, in their distress for provisions. In consequence hereof, it was resolved, that *Robert* should go with a few attendants to the *Scotch* camp; where he was well entertained three days: and *Malcolm* shewing him two armies which he had drawn together to fight, not against him, to whom, by his father's directions, he had vowed obedience, but against *William*, he took occasion to represent how much matters were altered by the agreements which had passed between them, and pressed him much to accommodate matters, and pay homage to *Rufus*. He was seconded in these instances by *Edgar Atheling*; who, upon his return from his expedition against the infidels, not caring to trust himself in the power of the king of *England*, had stopped in *Normandie*; where *Robert* had given him an honour: but this lying in the country given up to *William* by the late treaty, he had been deprived of it by that jealous monarch, and retiring for refuge to *Malcolm*, was then in the *Scotch* army. The joint endeavours of these two princes brought about an agreement; by which *William* promising to give *Malcolm* all that he held under his father, and to pay him annually twelve marks of gold, the latter consented to obey him, and did him homage. Some terms were likewise made for *Edgar Atheling*; who being reconciled to *William*, went with *Robert* to *London*: but finding no great satisfaction in their stay at that court, they left it two days before *Christmas*, and went over together into *Normandie*.

ROBERT, upon his return, found his brother *Henry* in possession of the strong fortrefs of *Danfront*, which he had surprized by the help of the inhabitants, and of all the *Coſtentin*, by the great barons of the country declaring in his favour: not was he able, while his dutchy was all in flames by the intestine factions that harassed it, to reduce that young prince; who was under-hand supported by his brother *William*. It was not the onely instance of this king's insincerity in his treaties, that *Robert* had to complain of: he was still, notwithstanding the services lately done him, and the accommodation subsisting between them, continually tempting the *Norman* nobility to desert their natural sovereign, and to enter into his service. Some or other of them were daily debauched in this manner, and fortified their castles for his use: one of the most considerable of these rebels, was *William* count of *Paris*; who, gained by the king of *England's* promises of giving him great pos-

A. D. 1092.

¹ Flor. Wig.

² Ord. Vit. p. 701.

³ Flor. Wig. Herodot.

WILLIAM
RUFUS.

A. D. 1093.

sessions and honours in that kingdom, renounced his allegiance to *Robert*, and came over hither in the year following. Nor had *Malcolm* better reason to be satisfied with *William's* observance of his treaty with *Scotland*: he had, by ambassadors, called upon him to perform the articles, but without any other effect than a promise, that he would do *Malcolm* right, if he would come to his court at *Gloucester*. *Malcolm*¹ having, in his way, stopped on the eleventh of *August* at *Durham*, to be present at laying the first stone of the cathedral there, came on *St. Bartholomew's* day to *Gloucester*, in hopes of settling a firm peace, agreeable to the previous resolutions of the nobility of both kingdoms. But *William*² was too proud to see, or admit him to a conference, and would have forced him to leave the matters in dispute between them to the judgment of his court there, composed only of *English* peers: but this the other absolutely refused, though he was ready to abide by the determination of the nobility of both kingdoms assembled on the borders, which he maintained was the ancient custom. Thus by *William's* haughtiness and obstinacy the peace was broken off: and *Malcolm* resenting his usage, returned full of fury into *Scotland*; where he immediately raised a great army, and falling upon *Northumberland*, wasted the country as far as *Alnewik*. He was there (as some say, under colour of a treaty³) surprized and slain, with his eldest son *Edward*, on *St. Brice's* day *November* 13, by *Merel*, a stout soldier, governor of the place, at the head of a party of *Robert de Meurbray's* troops: and his corpse was first buried at *Tinmouth*, being carried thither in a cart by two countrymen, but afterwards removed to *Dunfermling*. He had by his queen *Margaret*, who died three days after him of grief for his loss⁴, six sons (*viz.* *Edward*, who received a mortal wound at the same time with his father, *Edmund*, and *Ethelred*, who died in *England*, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*, who succeeded in their order to the crown of *Scotland*) and two daughters, *Maude*, married to *Henry* I, king of *England*, and *Mary*, wife to *Eustace the Younger*, count of *Boulogne*. He was a prince of great virtues, unstained by any remarkable vice: and is generally supposed to be the first introducer of the feudal law into *Scotland*, and to have divided the lands of the kingdom into baronies and knights-fees, in imitation of *William the Conqueror*, who had provided in that manner for the defence of *England*. Whether the *Scots* at that time enjoyed any lands of inheritance (except among the *clans*, the nature and time of whose union or subjection to the crown of *Scotland*, is a matter of too remote antiquity to be easily traced, and to whom perhaps this new regulation did not at first extend) is a point very fit for the enquiries of the learned antiquaries of that country. If they had, it is not easy to account for *Malcolm's* being able to dispose of such large tracts of land, as he did, to such a number of *English* noblemen, as after the conquest took refuge in his country, and from whom the greatest families at this day in the Lowlands are descended: and it is utterly incomprehensible, how such a general change in the tenures of a kingdom should be brought about, and every body readily subject their persons and lands to vassalage, forfeitures, services, and all the rigours of that law, without the least disturbance, clamour, or complaint. If they had not, if their estates were no more hereditary, than their honours and offices at that time, but reverted to the crown upon the death of the tenant at will, or lifeholder, there is indeed no difficulty in the case; since few people would scruple having estates vested in their families, and descendible to their heirs, upon the terms prescribed by the donor, though even more harsh than any that appear in the feudal customs. It is at least certain, that from this time, the constitution of *Scotland* was formed upon the plan of that of *England*; the laws, maxims, and

¹ *Fordun. Scotichron.* l. v. c. 20.

² *Flor. Wig.*

³ *Sim. Dun. Chr. Walter. Hemingf. &c.*

Flor. Wig. ⁴ *Buchanan.* l. vii. *Fordun.* l. v. c. 16, 27.

usages of the two nations agreed with each other; the forms and composition of their parliamentary assemblies the same; the *Scotch* names of honours and offices were changed for *Norman*; and *Mac Duff* earl of *Fife*, who had so great a share in *Malcolm's* restoration, was the first hereditary earl and great officer of the crown, ever known in *Scotland*.

WILLIAM
RUFUS.

XL. THE death of *Malcolm* happened very seasonably for *William*; freeing him from a powerful and a dangerous enemy, at a time when he was coming to an open rupture¹ with his brother the duke of *Normandie*: who, tired with his affected delays and excuses for not executing the treaty between them, sent messengers to *England* to insist peremptorily on his immediate performance of the articles, or in failure thereof, to denounce him a perjured and faithless mortal. The king, piqued at this denunciation, yet resolved not to observe the treaty², passed over about mid-lent with an army into *Normandie*: and, either to have some pretence to gloss over the injustice of his cause, or in hopes of cajoling *Robert* into some shameful agreement, desired an interview with him; which was agreed to, but his propositions rejected. They had afterwards another conference, at which all the barons that had sworn for their respective performance of the articles were present: but the king being determined not to execute them, this proved as fruitless as the former. *William*, condemned by all the world, resolved to justify his measures by the success of his arms: and took the castle of *Bures*; proposing no less than an entire conquest of the duchy; which in the situation of his brother's affairs, and considering the venality of the *Normans*, he imagined to be a matter of little difficulty. But the king of *France*, not liking to have so haughty and potent a prince for his neighbour, came with an army to *Robert's*³ assistance: and they took the castle of *Argentum*, the same day it was invested; making *Roger Poitevin* with two thousand men, as well knights as common soldiers, prisoners. *Robert* soon after took the castle of *Homme*, with *William Peverel*, and eight hundred men that composed the garrison: and *William* was so alarmed at their progress, that he sent for a reinforcement of twenty thousand men from *England*; though, having more occasion for money than for their service, he ordered *Ralf Flambard*⁴, when they were all at their rendezvous by the sea side, to take from them the ten shillings that each man was supplied with for his victuals, and then send them back to their several counties. This money did his business: for *Philip* and *Robert* being advanced to *Longueville* in their way to *Eu*, where they intended to besiege him, their further progress was stopped at once by a convenient distribution of that sum; and the *French* army vanished in a moment. The taking of a few castles, and the burning of open towns and villages, was all that passed afterwards in this war: which *William* was called off from prosecuting by an insurrection of the *Welsh*, and by advice of a conspiracy formed against him in *England*. This obliging him to hasten his return thither, he sent *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, with a fleet, to bring his brother *Henry* over to *London*; where he proposed to meet him at *Christmas*, and arrived before the end of the holidays.

A. D. 1094.
Rufus invades
Normandie
and Wales.

WALES, divided into several little principalities, the princes whereof were perpetually at variance with one another, had never been able to contend in the field with the power of *England*; all that these princes could do being only to carry on a piratical war: in which they derived some advantages from the situation, woods, and mountains of their country. To prevent their depredations, *William the Conqueror* had taken care to plant the most powerful of his barons on the marches of

¹ Flor. Wig. Annal. Waverl. ² Flor. Wig. Annal. Waverl. Hoveden. Brompton. Hunt.
³ Flor. Wig. ⁴ Ib. Alured. Bev. Hunt. Hoveden. M. Paris.

WILLIAM
RUFUS.
A. D. 1094.

Wales, with vast estates, extraordinary privileges and regalities, and a great number of followers, always ready to oppose the *Welsh*, whenever they offered to make excursions into the *English* borders. About four years before, *Rees ap Iwerdr*, prince of *South-Wales*, had fallen upon *Jestyn*¹, lord of *Morgannuc* or *Glamorgan*, descended of a race of princes who had ruled that country for several ages: and being superior in the war, the latter, too weak to oppose him without foreign succours, applied by the means of *Eneon* (a *Welsh* nobleman, who having been in the *English* service, was well acquainted with many of their nobility) to *Robert Fitz Hamon*, earl of *Gloucester*, for assistance. *Robert*, associating with him twelve valiant knights, marched with a considerable force to his aid; and coming to an engagement² with the enemy in *Easter* week, *A. D.* 1093, near *Brecknock*, *Rees* was slain: and with him fell the kingdom or principality of *South-Wales*. *Jestyn*, out of danger from his old enemy, took no care to make good the stipulations he had entered into with his new friends, or with *Eneon*, who had procured his succours; so that both joined to attack him: and the whole country of *Glamorgan* being reduced, *Fitz Hamon* and his knights took possession of the fertile part of it lying on the sea coast, leaving the mountainous tract to *Eneon*. *Roger* earl of *Shrewsbury* had about the same time taken and fortified *Montgomery*: and his son *Arnulf*, having obtained from the king a grant of *Pembrokeshire*, had taken possession of it, and built the castles of *Pembroke* and *Cardigan*, with other fortresses, for the security of himself and his followers. The *Welsh*, enraged at these encroachments of the *Normans*, fell upon³ them in all quarters; driving them out of *Cardigan* and *Pembroke* shires; taking all their places of strength in those countries, except the castle of *Pembroke*; demolishing that of *Montgomery*, after they had taken the place and put the garrison to the sword: and then invading the counties of *Chester*, *Salop*, and *Hereford*, they spared neither age nor sex, burnt towns, and made a terrible havock in all places.

A. D. 1095.

THE news of this destruction of the country having brought the king out of *Normandie*, he marched in *January* with a powerful army to take vengeance on the *Welsh*; and entering *Wales* on the side of *Montgomery*, repaired the castle: but not being able to meet with the enemy, unless in the straits of mountains, or in the passage of rivers, where they still attacked him with advantage, and killed abundance of his men, he returned home before *Easter* with ignominy. He made at the latter end of the year, after *Michaelmas*, another inglorious campaign against that people; who making their defence in the same manner, cut off his provisions, and harassed his army so continually, that after passing through their country as far as *Snowdon*, without ever having an opportunity of a pitched battle, he was obliged to return with no better success than before. The same was the fate of all the other expeditions he made into that principality with a royal army: but this method proving unsuccessful, it was afterwards left to the lords of the marches to reduce the country by degrees, and in proportion as they advanced in it, to secure their possession by strong castles and garrisons. It was in this manner, and by erecting the fortresses of *Rudland* and *Diganwy*, that *Robert de Rudland* had made himself master of the vale of *Clwyd*, and of all the coast of *North-Wales* as far as *Conway*: it was by this method, that *Hugh Lupus*, and *Hugh de Montgomery* (who had, in *A. D.* 1094, succeeded his father *Roger* in the earldom of *Shrewsbury*) proposed four years after to secure their conquest of *Anglesey*, had not the latter been slain, and their forces unexpectedly defeated by *Magnus*, son of *Olave* king of *Norway*. This prince⁴, after taking possession of the *Orkneys*, the western isles, and that of

¹ *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 119. ² *Flor. Wig.* ³ *Powel*, p. 154. *Chron. Hemingford*, c. 19.
Flor. Wig. *Hoved.* ⁴ *Vit. Griffithi fil. Conan. MS. in Trin. Coll. Cantab.*

Man, which he either subdued or received from *Donald Bane*, came accidentally off the coast of *Anglesey* to descry it: and observing what havock the *Normans* were making in the country, landed his forces, to protect and save the miserable inhabitants from destruction.

WILLIAM
RUFUS.
A. D. 1095.

XLI. THE *Hugh* there slain had been one of the principal persons¹ concerned in the conspiracy, formed whilst the king was in *Normandie*, for deposing him, and putting upon the throne *Stephen* count of *Aumale*, sister's son to the *Conqueror*. *Robert de Mowbray* earl of *Northumberland*, nephew to *Geffrey* bishop of *Coutances*, from whom he inherited a vast estate, a strong, big-made, thoughtful, crafty, bold, and enterprizing man, was at the head of the design; in which *William* count of *Eu*, disobliged by *Rufus's* not making good the great promises that he made when he debauched him from his brother's service, *Roger de Lacey*, *Richard de Tunbridge*, and a good number of other *Norman* lords likewise engaged²; being offended either at *William's* haughty behaviour towards them, or at being debarred their liberty of hunting. To defeat this dangerous conspiracy, it was necessary to discover the bottom of it, or to make it break out, before all the measures were taken, and a convenient time fixed for its execution: and with this view, *William*, as soon as he returned from the first of his *Welsh* expeditions in this year, had summoned *Robert de Mowbray*³ to attend him in his courts, held in *Winchester* at *Easter*, and in *Windsor* at *Whitsontide*, to answer for his plundering four large merchant ships, which had put into an *English* port where he had power, and not restoring the goods upon the king's order; who, upon neglect thereof, had paid the value out of his exchequer. *Robert*, either conscious⁴ of his guilt, or proud of his late service in repulsing the *Scots* with the slaughter of their king and a considerable part of their army, which he imagined might excuse any insolence, refused to come; unless hostages were sent him, and a safe-conduct for his security in going and returning. *William* marching against him, was near being intercepted in a wood, where *Robert* had laid an ambush for him: but was stopped from entering it by *Richard de Tunbridge*; who repenting⁵ of the part he had taken in the plot, discovered it to him, and warned him of the danger. The king, investing the castle of *Tinmouth*, took it after a siege of two months; and then following the earl to *Bamburg*, lay before it for some time: but finding it impregnable, he built over-against it a fortress, which he called *Mauvoisin*; and having furnished it with a strong garrison to prevent any provisions getting in to the place, returned with the rest of his army. During this blockade, *Robert* formed a design⁶ for surprizing *Newcastle*; and the guard or watch of the place having promised to receive him, if he came privately, he stole out of *Bamburg* by night with thirty horse: yet not with so much secrecy as to escape the vigilance of the troops in *Mauvoisin*; who following his steps, sent advice of his sally to the governor of *Newcastle*. The enterprize, which was to be executed on a *Sunday*, failing, by the garrison's being on its guard, *Robert* was overtaken, and fled to the monastery of *S. Oswin* at *Tinmouth*: which, with some loss of the assailants, was forced the sixth day of the siege; the earl, with several of his followers, being wounded in its defence, and all of them taken prisoners. *Morel*, his relation and confident, who commanded in *Bamburg*, still held it out: but *Robert* being by the king's orders brought before it, and a message sent to the governor, and the countess, who was also in the place, that his eyes should be put out, if they offered to make any further resistance, the castle was surrendered⁷. *Robert* died in prison, after a confinement of above thirty years; during

A plot discovered and punished.

¹ *Flor. Wig.* *Ord. Vital.* p. 703. ² *Malmesb.* l. iv. *Fordun.* l. v. c. 19. ³ *Hoveden.*
Chron. Sax. ⁴ *Hoveden.* ⁵ *Flor. Wig.* *Chron. Hemingford.* *M. Paris.* *Malmesb.* ⁶ *Flor.*
Wig. ⁷ *Ord. Vit. ib.*

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A. D. 1095.

which his wife *Maude*, daughter of *Richier de l'Aigle*, and niece to *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, was by Pope *Paschal's* dispensation married to *Nigel de Albini*; who enjoyed the forfeited spoils of her husband, and who likewise, on the death of her brother *Gilbert de l'Aigle*, put on her the affront of a divorce, because she had been wife to his cousin; and married *Gundrea*, sister to *Hugh de Gournay*. *Morel* was brave in battle, but probably did not care to look certain death coolly in the face: he discovered all, and perhaps more than he knew of the conspiracy (for abundance were taken up¹, and the innocent suffered with the guilty) and having got his pardon, died poor and miserable abroad. *Hugh* earl of *Shrewsbury* compounded his offence with the sum of three thousand pounds; *Roger de Lacey* flying into foreign parts, his lands were given to his brother *Hugh*, who had continued faithful to the king²: *Odo* count of *Champagne*, father to *Stephen de Aumale*, and many others, were imprisoned and deprived of their estates: such was the issue of this rebellion, and the fate of most of the conspirators.

A. D. 1096.

THE conviction and punishment of one of that number was reserved for the beginning of the next year, and deserves a particular notice, because it is the first instance in our *Annals* of the trial of a person's guilt or innocence by the issue of a combat: for I much suspect what is said in *Fordun*³ of the duel between *Orgarus*, who in this reign accused *Edgar Atheling* of high treason, and the champion of the latter, who gained the victory; because it is not mentioned by any of our *English* historians. This was an ordinary way of trying causes, both real and criminal, among the *Frisians*, *Alemanni*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*: but never used in *England*, till after the conquest; when it was brought in by the *Normans*, and allowed in cases where no evident proof of a fact appeared from witnesses, or other circumstances. A piece of ground, generally about eighty paces long, and forty broad, was inclosed with rails or lists for the field of battle between the accuser and the accused: who were both to swear, the one to the truth, the other to the falsehood of the accusation; the event determining which had the right on his side; the victor being acquitted, and the vanquished condemned. Women, ecclesiastics, sick, or infirm people, and all under twenty-one, or above sixty years of age, were excused from fighting in person: and might have their champions to fight in their stead, by whose fate theirs was determined. These duels were performed with great solemnities, and abundance of ceremonies, by leave, and in the presence of the king, or judges of his appointment: as that now to be mentioned was in the presence of all the barons of *England* on the octave of the *Epiphany*. *Geffrey Bainard* had accused *William* count of *Eu* of being privy to, or engaged in, the late conspiracy: and there being no other witness, the count had denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by a combat. This was granted, and fought at *Salisbury*, though the cause had probably been first heard in the great council held at *Windsor*; where the king kept his *Christmas*, and the prelates attended as well as the barons: which last however are only mentioned as present at the duel. These were likewise in all appearance the only persons concerned in the sentence denounced against the count, after his guilt had been proved by the issue of the combat, in which he was vanquished: it was adjudged that his eyes should be put out, and his testicles cut off; this latter part of his punishment being (as *Ordericus* says⁴) added at the instance of *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, whose sister *William* had married, and yet had got three sons on a strumpet. The infidelity, which the count had shewn to his natural sovereign, made his punishment less regretted than that of his cousin and seneschal *William de Alder*: who being accused⁵ as conscious of the

¹ *Malmesb.* l. iv.² *Flor. Wig.**Annal. Waverl.**Ypod. Neust.* p. 441.*Alured. Bev.*³ *L.* v. c. 22, 23.⁴ *P.* 704.⁵ *Malmesb.* l. iv.

conspiracy was sentenced to be hanged, and at his execution declared, that as he hoped for mercy at the hands of God, he was entirely innocent; a declaration which the piety of the man, the *Christian* end that he made, the intrepidity with which he suffered, and some circumstances of his death, caused to be generally credited.

WILLIAM
RUFUS.
A. D. 1096.

XXII. WHILEST the king was thus employed in *England*, he had taken care to distress his brother *Robert* in *Normandie*, by sending prince *Henry* ¹ thither, with a large sum of money, to make war upon him, in conjunction with the counts of *Gournay*, *Conches*, *Meulant*, *Braiouse*, *Curcy*, *Giffard*, and other great lords that he had gained over to his party. This desertion of the *Norman* nobility, and the many difficulties in which *Robert* found himself involved, is supposed to be one of the motives, which, with others drawn from religion, and urged by the monks, engaged him to quit his country, and cross himself for the expedition, which was now undertaken for recovering *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the infidels. Pope *Urban* had the year before held a council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*: and among other things there done for aggrandizing the court of *Rome*, he contrived to have an army of devotees always under his direction, ready to support the papal claims, by representing the extraordinary merits of such expeditions, and putting every body upon making vows to fight against the infidels; with whom, all that the Popes (sovereign judges or directors of conscience in cases of vows, and admirable casuists for their own interest) were pleased to pronounce hereticks, or had any quarrel with, soon came to be confounded. Preachers were employed in all places to set forth, in the most moving colours, the deplorable condition of the holy land, and of the *Christians* there living under the heavy yoke of the *Saracens*, and to display all their oratory for engaging people to embark in expeditions for their rescue; which was extolled to an extravagant degree, as an act so highly meritorious, that it came to be thought almost the only way of going to heaven. This notion taking place, an innumerable multitude of all orders of men, clergy and laity, nobles and plebeians, freemen and slaves, took up arms: and without any regard to their kindred, families, lords (who could not hinder their slaves from engaging in so pious an enterprise) or country, set out for *Jerusalem*. The fields ² were left without husbandmen, and the towns without inhabitants; whole cities went away to the croisade: husbands took their wives and families with them in carts, without ever thinking of the dangers and difficulties they were to meet with, and the extremities of want to which they were to be exposed, in passing thousands of miles through unknown countries in their way to the holy land; by which infinite numbers perished. St. *Bernard*, abbot of *Clairvaux*, complains, that in his time there were scarce men enough left to till the ground, and not above the proportion of one man to seven women; most of the ancient noble families in *France* and *Germany* became extinct: and though those countries suffered most by these romantick or enthusiastick expeditions, no part of the north and west of *Europe* was free from its share of the common calamity. Vast numbers in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* crossed themselves on this occasion, to vye with foreign countries in a point of modish devotion: and among other princes, *Robert* duke of *Normandie*, resolved to engage in the expedition.

THIS prince wanting money to defray the expence, applied to the king ³ of *England*, for a loan of ten thousand marks of gold, upon a mortgage of *Normandie* to him for five years ⁴; a proposal very agreeable to the wishes and views of the latter: who raised the sum by the contributions of his prelates and nobility; the

¹ *Ord. Vit.* p. 723.
mingford. M. Paris.

² *Malmesb.* l. iv. c. 2. *M. Paris.*
⁴ *Eadmer* says it was for three years.

³ *Malmesb.* *Flor. Wig.* *Chr. He-*

WILLIAM bishops, abbots, and abbesses melting down the gold and silver vessels of their churches; and the temporal lords exacting aids from their tenants, and such as held **RUFUS.** of them by knight-service. This brought about a peace between the two ¹ brothers: and *William* passing the sea, paid his money, and took possession of *Normandie*; *Robert* setting out in *September* and wintering in *Apulia*. From thence he went into the east, was at the taking of *Nice*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and in all the considerable actions which happened in the three following years; distinguishing himself by his valour, force, military skill and prudence, above all the heroes that had a share in the expedition.

*Rufus restores
Edgar to the
throne of
Scotland.*

XLIII. **WILLIAM** having passed the winter in *Normandie*, landed at *Arundel* on *Easter* eve: and soon after *Whitsuntide*, made another ² fruitless expedition into *Wales*; which fully convincing him there was no reducing that country but by degrees, he ordered castles to be built on the frontiers. He got more glory by another, which *Edgar Atheling* made into *Scotland*, at the head of an army he was allowed to raise for restoring his nephews, the sons of *Malcolm*, to their rights of succession in that kingdom. Upon the death of ³ *Malcolm III*, his brother *Donald Bane* had usurped the crown: and expelled all the *English* that were about the court; whose favour with the late king had given great offence to the *Scotch* nobility⁴. The usurper had not been a year upon the throne; when *Duncan*, *Malcolm's* illegitimate son, then an hostage in *England*, being knighted, and supplied with an army by *Rufus*, marched into *Scotland*: and defeating his uncle in battle, got possession of the crown; but keeping a party of his *English* and *Norman* forces about him, this so enraged the *Scots*, that getting together on a sudden, they surprised and cut them all in pieces. *Duncan* fled for his life, apprehending that the design was as much against himself, as against the foreign guards, in which he had placed his security: but the *Scots*, to shew him his mistake, and that all their resentment was levelled at his followers, recalled him immediately, and placed him again in the throne, upon condition that he would not for the future bring any *Englishmen* or *Normans* into *Scotland*, nor have any of them in his army or service. Whether *Duncan* kept his word or not in this respect, he was, after a reign of eighteen months, murdered by *Malpeit* earl of *Merns*, at the instigation of *Donald*; who remounting the throne, possessed it till this year, when his army was routed and himself taken prisoner by *Edgar Atheling*. In consequence of this victory, *Edgar*, the eldest of *Malcolm's* surviving sons, ascended the throne of *Scotland*, to the great joy of the nation, without any further opposition: and after an happy reign of more than nine years, left it to his younger brothers in the natural order of their succession.

*His quarrel
with arch-
bishop Anselm.*

XLIV. **WILLIAM** being now secure on the side of *Scotland*, and in the quiet possession of *Normandie*, had nothing to fear from any of his neighbours: and set about the expensive works of ⁵ building the tower of *London*, and the great hall or palace of *Westminster*; which occasioned his levying vast sums of money on the people by exactions unknown before, and caused a general clamour. But he was absolute master of the kingdom, and to gratify a vanity, which made him think that hall too little by half, when every body admired its largeness and magnificence, he did not value the resentment or discontents of all the world: everything

¹ *Ord. Vit.* p. 765.
ros. Chr. Hemingford.

² *Ann. Waverl.*
Hoveden.

³ *Fordun.* l. v. c. 21. 25.

⁴ *Flor. Wig. Chr. Mail-*

⁵ *Annal. Waverl. Hoveden.*

bowed before him ; and none offered to dispute his will in any thing, but the arch-
bishop of *Canterbury*.

WILLIAM
RUFUS.

THIS see had been vacant, and the king had enjoyed the revenues of it, for
near four years after the death of *Lanfranc* ; when in *Lent*, *A. D.* 1093, his ma-
jesty¹, being taken extremely ill, and lying in danger of death at *Gloucester*, was
prevailed with on *March* 6th to name to it *Anselm* ; who, having done homage for
it, was consecrated on the fourth of *December* following. This prelate was a na-
tive of *Aost* in *Piedmont* ; and professing himself a monk at *Bec* in *Normandie*, had
succeeded *Lanfranc* in the priory, as he did *Herluin* in the abbacy, of that mo-
nastery. He had there imbibed the monkish notions which appear in his con-
duct, and the religious principles that are seen in his writings ; which shew that
he had read St. *Augustine's* works ; though he seems little acquainted with those
of other primitive fathers. He was strict in his devotions, austere in his way of
living, irreproachable in his manners, very charitable to the poor, a great master
of his temper, perfectly indifferent to the world, and firm to a degree of obstinacy
in all his purposes, whether they related to matters of little or great moment².
*Eadmer*³ extolls him for preaching on an *Asbwenesday* against the fine heads of
hair, which the young nobility then about court wore very long, and obliging
them (by his single authority, before he had got them forbidden by a council, un-
der pain of excommunication) to cut them off, before he would either admit them
to the ashes, or grant them absolution. Such a stress did the narrow education of
a monk make him lay upon trifles. He was certainly taken out of his sphere ;
when removed from the post of superior of a convent, to be put at the head of a
national church ; for he had spiritual pride enough to embroil a kingdom, and was
not without other kinds of that unruly passion ; being haughty, stiff, and impe-
rious. The reputation he had gained in the world, at a time when the monastic
discipline was in the highest request, the apparent sanctity of his life, and his
free censures of the vices of the ages, might have enabled him to have been useful
in this nation, if he had not been a foreigner, an *Italian*, and a monk ; a stranger
to the rights and usages of the church of *England*, bred up in a blind obedience
to the court of *Rome*, and apt to despise all customs, that differed from what
he had observed abroad, and clashed with the papal decrees and regulations.

It is in vain to set bounds to the papal authority, when it is once received in
a kingdom : it will ever be attempting to break through them, and find partizans
enough that will concur in such attempts, to render the least admission thereof full
as dangerous as the first piercing of the waters of the sea through a dyke, raised
to keep a low country from being overflowed. The *Conqueror*, when he first intro-
duced it here, for his own ends, and in order to turn out the *English* bishops, ima-
gined he had put sufficient restrictions upon it, by providing that none of his pre-
lates should go to *Rome* without his license ; and that in case of a schism in the pa-
pacy, none should acknowledge any of the pretenders to it, till the king had de-
clared, who he would have received for the true Pope in his kingdom. The
court of *Rome* looked upon these restrictions as great grievances ; and com-
plained of them as an high indignity offered to, what in their style is termed, the
chair of St. *Peter*. *Gregory VII*, being chosen *Pope* unanimously⁴ and already ac-
knowledgeed here, was himself only affected by the former ; and tried in vain to

¹ *Eadmer*, l. i. p. 18, 20, 21.

² He had a great deal of what is termed the *lit-
tle* religion, and a wonderful veneration for all
kinds of relicks, as appears^a from the mighty stress

he laid on two of the blessed Virgin's hairs, said to
be brought out of the East into *Normandie*.

³ *Eadmer*, p. 23.

⁴ *Annal. Baron. A. D.* 1081.

^a *Eadmer*, p. 88.

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break through it, by enjoining *Lanfranc* in an imperious manner to appear before him (all excuses apart) within four months at *Rome*: but this prelate neither went, nor, as far as appears, ever sent any excuse for his neglect; though the Pope had threatened to punish his disobedience, by suspending him from all the functions of his character. From the time of that pontiff's death, there being a schism in the papacy between *Wibert* archbishop of *Ravenna*¹, who under the name of *Clement* was acknowledged in *Germany*, and *Odo* bishop of *Ostia*, who (upon the decease of *Victor* III) assuming the name of *Urban*, had been received in *France* and *Italy*: but they had not as² yet been submitted to in *England*; nor had any declaration been made in favour of either. *Urban* wanted to establish his authority here: but *Lanfranc* was too wise, or too tender of the regal rights, to meddle in the affair. *Anselm*, much inferior to his predecessor in judgment, knowledge, and experience of the world, more enthusiastical in his notions, more unadvised in his conduct, and more devoted to the court of *Rome*, seemed a proper instrument for bringing about the *Pope's* designs; the canonicalness of whose election he had, as abbot of *Bec*, already acknowledged.

ANSELM easily embarking in an affair, which was to do honour to his own judgment by drawing a great nation to follow his example, quarrelled with the king about it; for though, as *Eadmer* represents, there had been a strangeness between them on account³ of the former's not contributing to the latter's expences in *Normandie*, by a benevolence answerable to the revenue of his see, and proportioned to what other prelates and the nobility had offered; yet it had not proceeded to an open rupture, till the beginning of *A. D.* 1095; when *Anselm* applied to him for leave to make the voyage of *Rome* to receive his pall from *Urban*. The king, surprized at a request so full of arrogance and presumption, so contrary to his own prerogative⁴, to the laws of the land, and to the rights of the church of *England*, which had as yet refused to acknowledge to obey *Urban*, told him calmly, that he had not yet owned *Urban* for *Pope*; that it had not been the custom, either in his father's time or his own, for any body in *England* to acknowledge a

¹ *Eadmer*, p. 24. ² *Flor. Wig.* *A. D.* 1091.

³ I much suspect the truth of *Eadmer's* relation in this particular, who in his view of magnifying his patron *Anselm* catches at all things that will answer his end, though not always consistent. He says, p. 18, that as soon as he was named, the king invested him with every thing belonging to the archbishoprick, and granted him likewise the city of *Canterbury* and the abbacy of *St. Alban's*. In the next page, he makes *Anselm* (after he had received his letters from *Normandie*) press the king at *Rocheſter*, to restore him all the lands of his see which had been held by *Lanfranc*, and to do him right as to others, which *Lanfranc* had not been able to recover. The first was readily granted: the latter deferred for further consideration; and no answer made to what *Anselm* is said to recommend so modestly to the king, that he would be directed by him as his spiritual father in all matters ecclesiastical, as he should obey his majesty in civil affairs and particularly in the acknowledging of *Pope Urban*. Soon after, at *Windsor*, the king is said to desire *Anselm* to confirm his alienation of some lands of the see, which the latter refused; hence arose a quarrel, which is said to please *Anselm*, because he wanted to quit his see. Then *Anselm* is consecrated *Dec.* 4, 1093, and eight days after goes to court in order to keep *Christmas*; when his friends persuade him to offer the king five hundred pounds, which is

rejected as too little, and he went from court as soon as the festival was over, and does not see the king till he came to *Hastings* at *Candlemas* *A. D.* 1094, and as the king was going to embark for *Normandie*, moved him for holding a general synod in *England* (which *William* deferred) and to fill up abbeys, which was refused, as an impertinent motion, in which the archbishop had no concern, it being a part of the royal prerogative. I can easily believe *Anselm* fond of power and intermeddling, but cannot conceive, how he could at that time be able to make the king an offer of such a sum of money, or how the king could expect it from him, before he had received the revenues of his see; for *Brompton*, col. 988, says he did not allow *Anselm* to receive any thing of the archbishoprick, till the tribute he had imposed on it after *Lanfranc's* death was paid; *Eadmer* himself, p. 108, says, he had received no part of his revenues, and *M. Paris* (*Vit. Abb. St. Alban.* p. 52) says, that *Anselm* was all that time in a poor distressed condition, and assisted by abbot *Paul* with money, which he gratefully returned after his inthronization. The king was beyond sea from *February* to the end of *A. D.* 1094, and returning at the latter end of *Christmas* holidays, it was then that *Anselm* pressed for a license to go to *Rome* for his pall.

⁴ *Eadmer*, p. 25, 26.

Pope without the king's license or approbation; and that it was attempting to deprive him of his crown, to offer to strip him of that part of his royal prerogative. *Anselm* declaring, he would never deviate from his obedience to the *Pope* to whom he had submitted whilst abbot of *Bee*; *William* told him with some warmth, that he could not keep the allegiance which he owed to him, if he was resolved, against his will, to obey the *Pope*. *Anselm*, with a *salvo* to his subjection and obedience to the *Pope*, desired a respite of the affair, till it was examined in a great council of all the prelates and nobility of the realm, whether he could keep his faith to the king, consistent with the obedience he professed to the see of *Rome*; declaring roundly at the same time, that if it was not to be done, he would rather quit the land, till *Urban* was acknowledged, than renounce his obedience to the *Pope*, even for an hour. This peremptory declaration was enough to provoke a prince of *William's* spirit: but he had temper enough to comply; and appointed a great council to meet on *Sunday, March 11*, at *Rockingham-castle*.

ANSELM proposing the question in the council, asked their advice in the matter; and the bishops told him, if he would submit without any reserve to the king's will, they were ready to give him the best they could: but if he would stick to the *Pope* against the king's mind, they should not offer to give him any. The archbishop, in a speech, full of cant about *St. Peter* and the cause of God, which he would fain have thought to be his own, at the same time that he was labouring to give up the rights of the church of *England*, which he of all others was most bound in duty to maintain, declared his fixed resolution to obey the *Pope* in all ecclesiastical, though he was willing to give the king his advice and aid in civil, affairs. This shocked the whole assembly to such a degree, that all the members rose up and exclaimed at once against him, as if he had been guilty of a capital offence: but after a recess, the bishops with some of the chief nobility coming to him, told him, "that the whole realm complained of his attempting to deprive the king of his crown; that whoever took away the rights of the royal prerogative, took away his crown and kingdom, they being inseparable; and advised him to exert the freedom that became an archbishop of *Canterbury*, in shaking off the yoke of subjection to *Urban*, in submitting to the king, and asking his pardon." He absolutely refused to renounce obedience to the *Pope*; but desiring the matter to be put off till the next day, the bishops acquainted the king with his request: and it not being thought proper to be granted, they told him, "that he had, as far as in him lay, deprived the king of his royal dignity, by making, without his warrant, *Odo*, bishop of *Ostia*, *Pope* in *England*, and having done so, desired a truce to find out ways to justify his outrage; that he ought to restore the king to his dignity, before he could expect the other, and either to give him some satisfaction for the injury done, or else expect a sentence to punish his presumption and breach of his oath of allegiance." *Anselm* persisting in his adherence to the *Pope*, the bishops consulted in the king's presence about the method of proceeding against him: but found greater difficulties in the matter, than they had before apprehended; "there not being in all the annals of the church of *England*, so much as a single instance of an archbishop of *Canterbury's* being called to an account, tried, or condemned by any judicature, except by the *Pope*," whom the *Conqueror*, trampling on the rites of the church, had called in to assist his revenge², and allowed him to depose *Stigand* by his single authority. *William de S. Carilef*, bishop of *Durham*³, an excellent prelate, a man of great learning and knowledge, versed in all kinds of business, was the person, upon whom *Rufus*, among all the bishops, most relied for

¹ *Radmer*, p. 27.² *Ib.* p. 29.³ *Sim. Dun.* II. *E. Dun.* l. iv. c. 1.

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finding out an expedient to make the archbishop resign his ring and pastoral staff, and to send him out of the realm : but he was as much at a loss as the rest ; *Anselm* being their primate, and they having all sworn to pay him canonical obedience. No other method being suggested, the king, declaring he would suffer no ¹ equal in his own kingdom, proposed to put *Anselm* out of his protection, and to consider him no longer as his archbishop or spiritual father : and insisted, that they should at the same time withdraw their obedience, and hold no more communication with him, as their fellow bishop and primate ; that he might, by such a contempt of him, feel the ill consequences of his adhering to the Pope, and bidding defiance to his sovereign. When this was notified to *Anselm*, he said, the bishops might do what they pleased : but he would still retain the office of archbishop, whatever became of his revenues ; and sent to the king for a safe-conduct for himself and followers to depart the kingdom. The king was extremely desirous to have him gone ; but did not care he should depart clothed with his archiepiscopal dignity : and consulting with his lay nobility on this occasion, they, desirous of an accommodation in the matter, proposed to *Anselm* a stop of all further proceedings at present, and that things might remain as they were, till the octaves of *Whitsonide* ; which he agreed to with a saving of his obedience to Pope *Urban*. Nothing could have been more convenient for him than this delay ; for before the day came, *Walter* bishop of *Albano*, employed by the Pope to carry *Anselm's* pall, and to get his own election to the papacy received here, arrived in *England*, being escorted by two of the king's chaplains ; whom *Rufus* had sent privately to *Rome*, to enquire into the canonicalness of the elections of the two Popes, and to procure from him that appeared to have the best right, a pall to be transmitted to the king himself, for the use of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, without mentioning the name of *Anselm*. The king's design in this was, as soon as he had the pall in his hands, to turn this prelate out of his primacy as well as the realm, and to give the pall to the person he should appoint for his successor : but the court of *Rome* was an overmatch for him in politicks, and took her measures with better success. *Walter*, passing through *Canterbury*, without taking any notice of *Anselm*, made haste to the king with his two guides ; not offering to speak with any body, but in their presence, nor mentioning a word of the pall : and arrived at court a few days before *Whitsonide*. He was full as silent with regard to *Anselm* in all the discourse he had with *Rufus* ; never making the least motion in his behalf, nor saying any thing but what flattered the king's humour and designs ; so that the partizans of that prelate, imposed upon by this profound silence and artful management, began to exclaim loudly against the corruption of the court of *Rome* ; which took no step for their relief. The king too, upon *Walter's* assuring him in *Urban's* name of every thing's being done to his mind, and that, if he was once received for Pope in his realm, he would lend the king his papal authority as long as he lived for his purposes, gave orders that *Urban* should be obeyed as *Pope* in all his dominions. But when he came to talk with the bishop of *Albano* about depriving *Anselm* by the papal authority, supported by his own power, he was strangely confounded at being told, that it could not be done. There was no revoking what had been done in the Pope's favour, and since he could not get rid of the archbishop, his council advised him², to take up with a general promise of his observing the laws of the land, and standing by him against all men ; and to try if he could gain any thing upon his temper, by shewing him some exterior marks of his favour. It was proposed that *Anselm* should receive the pall from the king's hand ; but the haughty prelate absolutely refused to receive it in that manner, because it was a grant from the Pope,

¹ *Eadmer*, p. 30, 31.

² *Ib.* p. 39.

not from the crown : nor could the ceremonial of the delivery of it be adjusted, but by the Pope's messengers laying it on the altar of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, and the archbishop's taking it from thence, as (in the usual canting phrase) from the hand of *St. Peter*. WILLIAM
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THIS was done with great pomp and ceremony on *Sunday, June 10*, amidst an infinite number of clergy and laity, who came to be spectators of *Anselm's* triumph over the regal power : and matters rested in this manner till the year following ; when the king, going over into *Normandie* to receive the dutchy in mortgage from his brother *Robert*, and to pay him the consideration money, had large sums advanced him by his prelates and nobles by way of benevolence ; and *Anselm* was prevailed¹ upon by some of his friends to send him a small present, with two hundred pounds of the treasure of the church of *Canterbury*. *William* having passed the winter in that country, returned this year in the spring to *England* : and presently after made an expedition into *Wales*, as is above related ; the time of which *Eadmer*² places before, though all other writers place it after, *Pentecost*. *Anselm*, whose conscience was guided by papal decrees, some whereof condemned all vassalage of the clergy to lay superiors, thought it a grievance, that prelates should hold their lands by barony, and be subject to the services incident to feudal tenures : and either out of some such papal principle, or out of aversion to what he deemed an oppression, had sent the knights, he was obliged by law to furnish for that expedition, very badly equipped, neither properly provided with arms and other necessities for war, nor indeed fit for the nature of the service. The king resenting it, sent him word to prepare himself to answer in his court for this neglect ; a message or summons to which the archbishop returned no answer ; not being able to deny but the matter was properly cognizable in a court of law, and not caring to submit to a lay judicature, the decision whereof would probably be agreeable to the king's mind, or at least made according to the rules of law and usages of the kingdom, without any regard to *papal* privileges of exemption in favour of the clergy. His resolution was to apply to the court of *Rome* for her directions in the case, and to support himself by her authority : but coming at *Whitfontide* to the king's court ; which, after the days of feasting were over, proceeded according to ancient custom to hear causes ; he found the design was either to fine him a large sum of money, or force him to submit to the king's mercy. This was the usual tenor of sentences in that court upon the like occasions : and seeing no other way to avoid a censure and a submission, which would sink his reputation for ever, he sent to acquaint his majesty, that he was under an unavoidable necessity of going to *Rome*, and to desire his license for that purpose. The king, who could not imagine him guilty of any such heinous sin as was reserved only to a papal absolution, nor think but he was as capable of giving advice to the *Pope*, as the *Pope* was to him, would not grant the license : but yet deferred the prosecution intended.

A GREAT council of the prelates and nobility being called in *August* to consult about the affairs of the realm, *Anselm*³ came thither to renew his request : and being again denied, he went in *October* to the king at *Winchester* ; where he repeated his instances, as well by himself as others, till the king, incensed at being teased in this manner, declared, “ that he would receive no more applications on “ that subject, being resolved to proceed against him judicially ; and if he went “ away, he might be assured, that he would seize all the revenues of his see, and “ would never own him more for his archbishop.” Some bishops and noblemen then at court complained of the obstinacy, wherewith *Anselm* persisted in his resolutions : and pressed him not to quit the dignity and advantages of his primacy,

¹ *Ib.* p. 35.² *Ib.* p. 37.³ *P.* 38, 39, 40.

WILLIAM for the sake of a journey to *Rome*. They put him in mind of his promise to stand
 RUFUS. by the king, and keep the laws of the land; and having represented further,
 A. D. 1097. "how unprecedented a thing, and how contrary it was to those laws, for any prelate
 "or nobleman, more especially for him (who ought to maintain the independency
 "of his see upon any foreign judicature) to presume to take such a journey."
 They told him, that "the king, to put a stop to all such affronting solicitations,
 "required him either to promise upon oath, that he would never appeal to the
 "Pope in any cause whatever, or else to quit the realm immediately; and in case
 "he chose to take the oath and stay, he was to answer in the king's court for
 "daring to insult his majesty so often with such illegal requests." The arch-
 bishop owned his promise of observing and maintaining the laws and usages of the
 realm: but, "though he had not expressed it, there was a restriction understood in
 "that promise, which excused him from observing all that were not agreeable to
 "justice and the laws of God; such as that in particular, which debarred him
 "from going to the Pope for the salvation of his soul, and for the government of
 "the church." After haranguing on this head in his usual manner, with some ill
 applied scripture phrases, and professions of his duty to obey God rather than man,
 and not to abjure St. *Peter*, he declared, that "he looked upon the promise re-
 "quired from him, of not appealing to *Rome* on any account, to be of the same
 "nature with the others:" and persisted invariably in his resolution of going to
Rome.

THIS passed on *Thursday, October 15*: and *Anselm* going away, messengers were
 sent after him with an order to be at the sea-side in eleven days, and to carry nothing
 abroad with him, but what the king allowed. One of the king's chaplains attended
 him accordingly at *Dover* to see this order executed: and having examined all the
 baggage before it was put on board, without taking any thing away, the archbishop,
 after a stay of fifteen days for want of a wind, embarked, and landed safe with his
 attendants at *Witsand*. *Anselm* passing the winter at *Lyon*, wrote a letter ¹ thence to
 the Pope; complaining, among other things, of the *English* customs being contrary
 to the decrees of Popes and canons of the church, and of secular services being
 put upon him, never used in the times of his predecessors; which looks as if he
 had wilfully neglected to perform his feudal services in the *Welsh* expedition. About
Easter, in the year following, he went to *Rome*, and was present at the council ² held
 by the Pope on the first of *October, A. D. 1098*, at *Bari*; where he prevailed to
 have a canon made for excommunicating all laicks that pretended to give investi-
 tures of churches, and all ecclesiasticks too, that either received them from such
 laicks, or submitted to be vassals, and do homage to laymen, on account of eccle-
 siastical benefices. The pretence for this canon, being taken from the ceremonial
 used in performing homage, and from the late invented doctrine of transubstan-
 tiation, may serve to shew what kind of reasoners they were in those days, and for
 what purposes that doctrine was introduced; "it being deemed an execrable thing
 "to see hands that could create God by their ministry, and offer him for the re-
 "demption of the world, to be made subservient to hands polluted day and night
 "by obscene contacts, rapine, and bloodshed." *Anselm* wrote himself, and got the
 Pope to write in his behalf, to the king, but without any effect; *William* ³ thinking
 that the latter had no power in his realm but by his allowance, though he vouch-
 safed to read and answer his letters: for as to *Anselm's* he would not so much as re-
 ceive his, but ordered the bearer, on pain of his eyes being put out, to quit the realm
 immediately. *Anselm*, finding no relief from the Pope, besides compliments and
 empty blustering, left *Rome*: and retiring to *Lyon*, staid there till the death of Ru-

¹ *Ib.* p. 43. & seq.² *Ib.* p. 53.³ *Ib.* p. 54.

fus. Such was the issue of this first attack, made upon the rights of the monarchy, as well as of the church of *England*, after the conquest, by attempting to introduce appeals to the court of *Rome*; to break through the laws, made as barriers to prevent such appeals, by restraining prelates from resorting thither; and to elude the cognizance of the civil judicature in matters undeniably within her jurisdiction, though they might relate to ecclesiastical persons and privileges; in which though the king maintained the sovereignty of his crown, yet the tool of the papacy that invaded it, got a pretence from the canon abovementioned to renew his attack in the succeeding reign, to the great disturbance of the quiet of the nation.

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XLV. ANSELM was no sooner gone abroad, than the king prepared to set out for *Normandie*: but was detained on the sea-coast¹ by contrary winds, to the great damage of the country adjoining, from *Martinmas* till near the end of *November*, before he could pass over thither. He had revived the old pretensions of his father and grandfather to *Mante*, *Pontoise*, *Chaumont*, and all the *Vexin François*: and had summoned the king of *France* to deliver them into his hands; which being considered as a prelude to a declaration of war, had given occasion to some hostilities. The war was carried on the year following without any considerable action, but to the greater detriment of the *French*; whose country lay open, as well to the incursions of the garrison² of *Gisors*, which *William* had fortified on this occasion, as to those of *Robert* count of *Meulant*, and *Guy de la Roche*, who put his fortresses of *Roche-guyon* and *Vetueil* into the hands of the *English*. The king however was detained all the year abroad, either by this war, in which nothing of consequence happened, besides the siege of *Chaumont*, which he was forced to raise; or by that which he declared against *Helie de la Fleche*, notwithstanding he had crossed himself in order to an expedition into the *Holy Land*; which was in those days considered as a protection of a prince's territories from any invasion of his neighbours. *Helie* had seized on the county of *Maine* to the prejudice of duke *Robert*; and had made some agreement with him before he set out for *Jerusalem*: but *Rufus* pretending, that nothing could hinder him from recovering his right to that county, marched thither in order to besiege *Dangeul*. The *Manceaux* guarding the passages of the rivers, and spoiling the roads, defeated his design, by keeping him from entering their country: and he was obliged to retire with his army, leaving the conduct of the war to *Robert Belesme*. This general³ had the good fortune to surprize *Helie* in an ambuscade, and sent him prisoner to *Rothen*: which making the king confident of reducing *Maine*, he raised a prodigious army, composed of *Bretons*, *Flemings*, and *Burgundians*, as well as *Normans* and *English*, and took *Tresnay* and some other places by composition. But when he thought to make himself master of *le Mans*, he was opposed by *Fulk Rechin* count of *Anjou*, of whom *Helie* had holden the county in vassalage, and obliged to a retreat; the war being still carried on with various fortune. *William*, a prince who never failed to carry his point, where it could be done by money, had better success in managing a conference with the count of *Anjou*, which ended in a treaty of peace upon conditions much to his advantage; being restored to the possession of *le Maine*, for only setting *Helie* and all his other prisoners at liberty. The king hereupon sending *Robert*, son of *Hugh de Monfort*, his constable, to take possession of *le Mans*, entered the place in triumph: and having fortified the town and castle with strong garrisons, under the command of *William* count of *Evreux*, and *Gilbert* baron de l'*Aigle*, all the fortresses of the country soon followed the fate of the capital; the noblesse readily submitting, and being left masters of their own castles, upon taking an oath

War with
France, and
in *Maine*.

A. D. 1098.

¹ *Chr. Sax. Hunt.* l. vii. *Hoveden.* *Flor. Wig.* ² *Ord. Vit.* p. 766. ³ *Ib.* p. 771.

WILLIAM of fidelity. *William* always generous to brave soldiers, had treated *Helie*, whilst a prisoner, with so much kindness, that being now at liberty, and reduced to his original private fortune, he was desirous to enter into the king's service: and made him the offer, without any view of recovering what he had lost, or the expectation of any recompence, but what his services might merit. The king having a great confidence in the honour of warriors, was inclined to retain him; when *Robert* count of *Meulant*, the chief of his councils, either out of a political jealousy, or ill will to *Helie*, dissuaded him from accepting the offer. *Helie* was not a little piqued at this affront; and had the courage to tell his majesty, that "he ought not to take it ill, if, after refusing his service, he should do all that lay in his power to recover his lost possessions:" the king replied, "he did not fear what he could do," and gave him a safe-conduct to retire to *la Fleche*; which he fortified, with the other places in his small territory.

A. D. 1099. He kept himself however quiet till *Easter* in the year following: when *Rufus* returning into *England*, he seized the opportunity to renew the war, and to sollicite the *Manceaux*, by whom he was much beloved, to rise in his favour. Coming in June before *le Mans* with a good body of troops, he tempted the garrison to make a sally; and having routed the party, entered the town with the runaways; being assisted by the inhabitants, and received with great acclamations: but the castle and some forts in the place still held out; and the garrisons found means to set fire to the houses of the town, which was reduced to ashes. A courier dispatched by *Robert de Belesme* with advice of what had happened, found the king hunting in the *New Forest*; who immediately on the news, considering that no time was to be lost, and turning his horse about, hastened to the sea-side: and embarked, with a very few attendants, on board an old vessel. The air was cloudy, the sea tempestuous, the wind contrary: and the seamen representing these things to engage him to wait for better weather, he bade them weigh anchor; for he had never heard of a king's being drowned, and they would soon find the heavens and the wind favourable. It proved so: and landing the next morning at *Barfleur* in *Normandie*, rode without any delay to *Bonneville*; where he assembled his troops, and marched to the relief of his garrisons in *le Mans*. *Helie*, on the news of his approach, raised the siege: and destroying the fortresses he had in the country, retired to *Chateau du Loir*; where he waited a more favourable opportunity of renewing his enterprizes. *William* investing *Majol*, with great hopes of carrying it at the first assault, had like to have been killed by a stone thrown from the place, as he approached too near it: this accident making him raise the siege, put him on ravaging the country; and that done, he returned about *Michaelmas* into *England*.

A. D. 1100. XLVI. THE next year was fatal to *William*, at a time, when fond of enlarging his command, he had agreed with *William* duke of *Guyenne* (who was going to the Holy Land with three hundred thousand followers) for a mortgage of his duchy, and had ordered a fleet and army to be prepared for taking possession of the country. He lost his life by an accident in the *New Forest*; where his nephew *Richard*, a natural son of duke *Robert*, had a little before been killed in the same manner by an arrow, levelled at a deer by a knight; who was sporting with him, and immediately thereupon retiring to *St. Pancras*, professed himself a religious. *Walter Tyrrel*, a French knight born at *Pontoise*, drawn by the fame of the king's bounty, had lately come over to his court: and having the reputation of being an excellent archer, *William* took him out after dinner to hunt with him in the *New Forest*; and a priest

¹ *Ib.* p. 773. ² *Wace*, p. 608. ³ *Chr. Sax. Annal. Haverl.* ⁴ *Ord. Vit.* p. 780. *Flor. Wig.*
Brompton. ⁵ *Malmeſb.* *Rob Gloucester*, 418.